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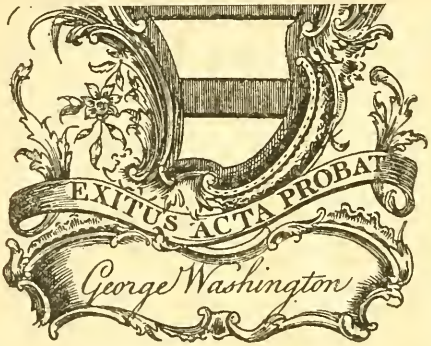

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GEORGE WASHINGTON
BICENTENNIAL EDITION

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

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THE WRITINGS OF

George Washington

from the

Original Manuscript Sources

1745–1799

Prepared under the direction of the United States
George Washington Bicentennial Commission
and published by authority of Congress

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FOREWORD

The people of the United States are justly proud of their literary men and women. They likewise are proud of their outstanding statesmen. Literary power and statesmanship were combined in George Washington, the greatest political leader of his time and also the greatest intellectual and moral force of the Revolutionary period. Everybody knows Washington as a quiet member of the Virginia Assembly, of the two Continental Congresses, and of the Constitutional Convention. Few people realize that he was also the most voluminous American writer of his period, and that his principles of government have had more influence on the development of the American commonwealth than those of any other man.

Unfortunately, Washington for many years was interpreted to his countrymen chiefly through warped biographies written upon a great deal of legendary assumption. Until very recently no readable biography of George Washington in reasonable compass made him stand for what he was—the most potent human and intellectual force in a firmament of American intellect. Nowadays good biographies of Washington are available, written from the sources. Many of them are devoted to a particular phase of his activity—the military side, the political side, the personal side. Hence when the United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission began its work it did not attempt to inspire new biographies. It selected as its most important literary duty the making Washington better known, by spreading abroad his own thoughts and plans and hopes and inspirations in the exact form in which he framed them.

Thus one of the first decisions of the Commission was to provide an edition of Washington's writings as complete as

possible, in a form which would make it available for the present generation and forever hereafter. Of the two previous editions of Washington's Writings the first, a hundred years ago, was the twelve-volume edition, edited by Jared Sparks, a pioneer in collecting and publishing historical documents. Proper canons in historical editing were not yet developed, and it hurt the feelings of Sparks if the great man misspelled or seemed to him ungrammatical. Therefore the Sparks edition can not be relied upon to tell us what Washington actually did say. The edition of Worthington C. Ford, forty years ago, was scholarly and carefully edited, but materials were then lacking for a complete edition, the production was limited by commercial considerations, and it is now out of print.

The Commission has set out to publish a definitive edition of all the written and printed words of George Washington in the form in which they left his hands, including several volumes of General Orders, almost the whole of which up to now had remained in manuscript only. Most of his original writings of every kind are fortunately preserved in the Library of Congress. Other libraries and private owners of manuscripts have permitted photostats to be made for inclusion in the great publication. When this series is completed, therefore, almost the whole of his reported thoughts will be within the reach of readers, investigators, and writers.

The George Washington Commission takes great satisfaction in rendering this public service; for as the publication of the new series progresses it will become more and more clear that the reputation of George Washington as a soldier, statesman, and man is enhanced by the record of everything that he is known to have committed to pen and paper.

One deviation has been made from the plan of including all of Washington's writings in this edition. The Diary has been recently published by a skillful editor, enlivened by interesting

notes. It has therefore been left out of the new set. On the other hand, the General Orders, which are of great significance for the history of the Revolution, are now for the first time made available in print, and will be distributed in the order of their dates.

What is the message from Washington revealed by this complete and scholarly edition? First of all it includes Washington's own graphic records of his experiences on the frontier while it was still in the possession of the Indians. Throughout the series will be found letters and documents showing that he was the American of his time who had the liveliest sense of the absolute necessity of occupying the West and making it a part of an American commonwealth.

The materials on his activity as a man of affairs, which are here brought into relief, bring home to the reader the picture of Washington as a landowner, land developer, and land cultivator. A much neglected side of his character is Washington as an engineer. His countrymen have not realized how modern he was in his engineering operations—as reclaimer of the Dismal Swamp; as advisor and engineer of the Potomac and James River Canal; as the first advocate of a combined highway and waterway from the Atlantic Coast to the Ohio River; as a bank director; as an investor; as one of the earliest Americans to recognize the possibilities of power transportation by water; and the first to suggest that air navigation might be very useful to the people of the United States.

What Washington says for himself will also be the foundation of our appreciation of his great abilities and immense services as the leader of the Continental Army. He was a thoroughly modern soldier, intensely interested in drill and tactics and plans of campaign, but equally unwearied in recruiting and supply and officering and in maintaining the morale of his troops. All the efforts to show that Washington had no

military genius will fade away under the searchlight of this publication of his military material, much of it for the first time.

If nothing had been written by others about Washington's leadership in forming a new nation, his papers and correspondence while President would forever establish him as a great constructive statesman. His private virtues are set forth from the earliest boy's letters down to the last entry that he made in his diary. Washington with his wife's children and grandchildren stands out as clearly as Washington at Yorktown.

The United States George Washington Bicentennial Commission is undertaking to throw light upon the character of Washington in many ways. None will be more enduring than this collection of his own words and thoughts. The addresses, the pageants, the public meetings, and the memorials of every kind which the Commission will encourage and support, will call public attention to the most striking of the events in his life. But a hundred years after 1932, Washington will still be appealing to the sense, the interest, the public spirit, and the patriotism of that later age, by the great thoughts of his mind, by his great hopes for his country, and by the simple, straightforward, elevated, manly, and patriotic spirit of which these WRITINGS *will be the imperishable record.*

Herbert Hoover

President of the United States.
Chairman of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 19, 1930.

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

For the past century all we have known of the George Washington manuscripts has been the less than fifty per cent of them that have been published since his death. The first extensive publication was by Jared Sparks, president of Harvard College, in 1834–1837, in twelve volumes, and the second by Worthington C. Ford, in 1889–1893, in fourteen volumes. Sparks printed upwards of twenty-five hundred letters and documents; Ford, by eliminating many that Sparks printed, and including new material, added about five hundred to the total, so that both Ford and Sparks together have published from three to four thousand only of Washington's letters. (An actual count of the total number of letters and documents written or signed by Washington has never been made, but a conservative estimate would place the number at from eight to ten thousand.) Neither of these editions is satisfactory, though they have been for years the available basis of our knowledge of George Washington. Ford's work was hampered by the exigencies of commercial restrictions. Sparks suffered from an editorial hypnosis to which it is unnecessary now to call attention, as his peculiar theory of editing aroused controversy at the time and has been thoroughly discredited. It is hopelessly at variance with accepted canons of historical ethics. A comparison of the textual exactness of this Bicentennial Edition with any of the important letters printed in Sparks

will make the matter clear. Fifty-two years after Sparks came Ford's new edition of Washington's Writings, free from Sparks's editorial tampering with the original text. This edition, though but two volumes more than Sparks's, because of a closer adherence to the originals, a judicious selection, and inclusion of additional material, became at once the standard. Practically all of the published biographies of Washington have been based upon this less than fifty per cent of Washington's writings and not upon research in his surviving manuscripts. The lives of Washington by John Marshall, Jared Sparks, Washington Irving, and Worthington C. Ford are about the only biographies that have been prepared from Washington's original papers. A number of valuable studies of special phases of Washington's activities have been published in recent years, based upon painstaking research among the original records; but, in general, the numerous lives of our First American are the product of a complacent examination of the letters printed by Sparks and Ford.

The present publication of WASHINGTON'S WRITINGS by the United States Bicentennial Commission on the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington is a fulfillment of the fundamental purpose of the Commission to develop a clearer understanding, realization, and knowledge of George Washington by making available *all* of his essential writings, unhampered by the commercial limitations necessarily existent in all private publishing enterprises. Practically all of the letters printed by Sparks and Ford are included herein, and corrected by the original texts.

All of Washington's general orders of the Revolutionary War are included in this Bicentennial Edition. Only a small number of the orders have been heretofore published, in widely separated places, and this complete publication of them

chronologically with the letters presents a clearer picture of the military side of the Revolution.

Extra care has been taken where these originals are in Washington's handwriting, and such documents are starred (*). Where letters are in draft form and in the writing of a secretary, alterations made by Washington therein are duly noted. Strict adherence to the original text has disclosed new and valuable information as to Washington's character upon which it is not the province of the editor to enlarge; but he ventures to call attention to one of many interesting developments: In a number of the Colonial-period letters, dealing with various military difficulties, tobacco shipments and sales, will be found an intensity of feeling which interferes with Washington's clarity of expression, while the letters devoted to less moving subjects are not so drivingly reckless of syntax.

Few established facts of history will be greatly disturbed by this comprehensive publication, but the new information as to Washington's personality, found in these hitherto unpublished letters, and bringing those formerly published into exact textual accord with the originals, discloses how far afield biographers of Washington have wandered. Even in so small a point as spelling, this publication will furnish instructive study to those who wish to follow Washington's progressive improvement, not only in etymology but in syntax as well. Criticism of Washington's spelling, like other criticism of the man, is due to lack of knowledge of the facts. The worst spelling will be found in the Colonial letters, but even a superficial examination of the letters of his contemporaries will show that Washington, while no better a speller, was often no worse than his friends. Governors of Virginia, such as Dinwiddie and Fauquier, British generals like Forbes and Sir John St. Clair, the Speaker of the Virginia House of Burgesses, Jefferson, and

Madison were no whit more perfect, according to twentieth-century standards. Washington "spelled like a gentleman"—and the gentlemen of those early days were not good spellers. It seems proper to mention at this point the much-referred-to action of Washington in improving, in his later years, the phraseology of some of his early letter-book records.

Strangely enough, it has not been noticed that these early letter books, which are entirely in Washington's handwriting and corrected by him, have been recopied by an amanuensis (who incorporated Washington's corrections) into another record made *nearly thirty years later*. Both the correcting and copying were done at Mount Vernon, after the Revolutionary War, and appear to be Washington's temporary surrender to the pressure brought to bear upon him to allow a life of himself to be written. He had steadfastly refused to permit this, and declined to entertain the suggestion of David Humphreys that he write his own life. But the corrections and recopying justify the assumption that Washington did, for a time, attempt to put his papers in shape for a biographical contingency. The correction of his early letters has been made the occasion of criticism and an implied charge of egoism which can not be made to lie against any other period of his life. Instead of being an attempt to disguise his early letter-writing deficiencies, the full facts show it to be nothing but a common-sense editing to make the texts plain for his nephew, Robert Lewis, who recopied them into volumes. Coupled with this was, more than likely, a desire to bring all his letters into mechanical uniformity with the beautiful Varick Transcripts of his Revolutionary War correspondence.

This 1784–85 copying (the date is difficult to fix exactly) was none too carefully made, and does not seem to have been closely compared with the originals. Whether or not these

originals, some of which have survived, were destroyed by Washington himself as valueless, after the 1784–85 copying, or whether they disappeared in one of the many later accidents that have happened to the Washington manuscripts, can not be known, but their nonexistence is regrettable. It thus curiously developed that pressure to obtain a biography of Washington may have been the cause of destruction of valuable biographical material. Although the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress are probably ninety-eight per cent of those that have survived, difficulties exist in gathering and selecting the material for a comprehensive edition of his writings. The missing two per cent has been diligently sought, and much of it recovered and made available through the photostatic process; but any given letter of Washington may exist in several different forms, and, during the Revolutionary War, these forms are sometimes as many as five distinct records. There is (1) the draft by Washington or his secretary; (2) a letter-book copy (in Colonial times, a letter book in Washington's handwriting, and sometimes a second letter-book copy made at a later date); (3) the Varick Transcripts of the Revolutionary War correspondence; (4) the transcript made in the office of the Secretary of the Continental Congress of such letters as were sent to that body; and, finally, (5) the actual letter that was signed and sent. Each one of these forms varies in minor verbal particulars (the human vagaries of the different copyists), and, even if it were possible to show these variations in type, the value of so doing is decidedly questionable. In this dilemma preference has been given, first, to the text of the letter as sent, wherever that text has been available; second, to the draft in Washington's writing, or the draft corrected by him; and, third, to the contemporary letter-book record, as the most exact duplicate of the letter sent.

> "Item To my nephew Bushrod Washington I give and bequeath all the papers in my possession, which relate to my Civil and Military Administration of the Affairs of this Country: I leave to him also, such of my private papers as are worth preserving; and at the decease of my Wife, and before, if she is not inclined to retain them, I give and bequeath my library of Books and Pamphlets of every kind."

This extract from Washington's will marks the beginning of the second important phase in the story of the Washington manuscripts. The first was, naturally, the creative period, when the papers were being brought into existence, and in this first phase there are many minor points of interest in such matters as paper economies, sealing wafers, quills, penmanship and ink, secretarial indorsements, and filing methods. The Washington manuscripts were bequeathed by Bushrod Washington to his nephew, George Corbin Washington, from whom they were acquired by the United States Government in two purchases in the years 1834 and 1849. The first lot, which consisted of the larger part of the manuscripts and many printed books, was obtained for $25,000; the second purchase secured the remaining manuscripts for $20,000. Just why a division of the papers was made and what was the distinction drawn at the time is not entirely clear, but some notion of a separation of the official or public papers from Washington's private and personal ones seems to have been an influence. This peculiarly childish idea operated in the acquirement of other groups of papers of American statesmen and has caused considerable vexation, difficulties, and loss, both financial and historical, to the Government and the Nation. The officially stated purpose in purchasing the Washington Papers was to complete the Government's records; but the official care exercised in the transaction, in the physical transfer of the papers into Government custody, does not bespeak the existence of an active sense

of responsibility in this regard. While it is regrettable that the transaction was not handled more meticulously, it is a matter of rejoicing that no great calamity has overtaken the papers since they were obtained by the Government, for they form to-day the noblest group of American historical personal papers extant.

The total price paid for the Washington Papers, $45,000, is small in comparison with the value of these manuscripts in the autograph market to-day. Any single one of a dozen selected documents would sell for more than $45,000 could it be legally offered for sale at the present time, so that from the crude commercial viewpoint alone the Government's wisdom in purchasing these manuscripts is beyond question; their historical value to the American people is demonstrated by the use made of them. The annual records of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress show that for years historians and students of the beginnings of America have been consulting the Washington manuscripts oftener than those of the many other prominent characters whose papers are in the custody of that division.

The Washington Papers now fill over four hundred volumes of manuscripts. Curiously, too, this tremendous mass of written records (at a conservative estimate 75,000 folios), which normally would have presented many difficult problems of arrangement and classification, has maintained a simple integrity that typifies in a clean-cut way the career of the man it records.

Physically these records may be visualized as grouped in:

1. Bound notebooks and diaries; many in their original bindings.
2. Bound account books.
3. Bound letter record books.
4. Letterpress copies.
5. The Varick Transcripts, in original bindings.
6. Drafts of letters *from* and original letters *to* Washington.

Numbers 4 and 6 were repaired, mounted, and placed in temporary bindings by the Library of Congress nearly thirty years ago, and fill two hundred and ninety-nine volumes. This is an artificial and arbitrary grouping of the records; a natural grouping that presents Washington's life activities with satisfactory clearness is:

1. Juvenile school exercises.
2. Survey notes and memoranda.
3. Account books.
4. Diaries.
5. Business correspondence:
    (*a*) Mount Vernon management.
    (*b*) Landholdings.
6. Military records:
    (*a*) French and Indian War.
    (*b*) Revolutionary War.
    (*c*) War with France, 1798–99.
7. Presidential records.
8. Personal miscellany:
    (*a*) Family.
    (*b*) Friends.
    (*c*) Political.

The earliest papers, the school exercises and letters, survive by mere chance; the diary habit, early acquired and steadily adhered to throughout life, is an example of characteristic carefulness of record, and Washington's official experience with the royal governor, Robert Dinwiddie, early taught him the need for record care. His difficulties with the English factors and merchants, over tobacco sold and invoices of goods purchased, still further developed Washington's appreciation of record value, and the vast number of long invoices of goods in his writing are a monument to his business exactitude. Another important revelation is that many of the difficulties encountered by Washington during the Revolutionary War,

in supplying the troops, in enlisting recruits, in enforcing discipline, and even in the personal jealousies and conflicting ambitions of his officers, were only reproductions, on a larger scale, of precisely the same problems with which he had struggled in his career as a Colonial colonel on the Virginia frontier, and parallel them with surprising exactness.

The Revolutionary War period and Washington's election as Commander in Chief of the Continental Army marks the beginning of the second important phase, or period of record-creation, in Washington's career, and the evolution of a recording and filing system among the many hectic activities of the Continental Army Headquarters is an interesting study. The letters written at the beginning of the war were drafted by the aides-de-camp and laboriously copied into homemade, rudely manufactured letter books; but by 1776 the correspondence had become so voluminous and involved that the letter-book method broke down, was discarded, and the simple one of filing the drafts of letters written was adopted. These drafts were drawn up by an aide or secretary from a rough memorandum by Washington, a verbal direction, or, in some instances, were written out by Washington himself. This latter, if no changes, erasures, or interlineations had been made, became the letter that was sent, after a secretary had taken a copy for the file. If changes were made the altered draft became the record copy, from which a fair copy was drawn, signed by Washington, and sent. Instances when the letter sent is marred by pen corrections are rare; but most of the drafts have been altered more than once. These alterations were often due to the necessity of presenting the idea in better form; a concession to the supersensitive dignity of Congress, State authorities, or the overdeveloped sense of importance of some of the higher Army officers; difficulties quite as often

of temperamental, official personalities as of refractory words and sentences. The editor, from long experience with the Washington Papers, is personally of opinion that most of the verbal changes found in the aides' and secretaries' drafts are the literary struggles of those young gentlemen to clearly express Washington's thought, and that distinct changes of that thought usually emanated from Washington himself. Some phases of the method of filing and storing Headquarters papers are plain from a study of the papers themselves; but it is also plain that the method was not entirely satisfactory to the Commander in Chief, though, like everything else at the time, it was the best he could get. There are interesting and sometimes amusing side lights noticeable, and it is possible to visualize, to some extent, the atmosphere of Headquarters by an examination of the drafts of Washington's letters, quite apart from the subject matter of the drafts themselves. There were, usually, from four to six aides at a time at Headquarters during the war, but as many as twelve have been present; at other times there have been so few that major and brigadier generals, transient visitors, and even Mrs. Washington did copying work under pressure of circumstances. In the early years of the war (1775–76) certain lines of correspondence seem to have been assigned to certain aides; Stephen Moylan, for instance, wrote most of the letters relating to fitting out the armed vessels ("Washington's fleet," as it was called), and later, when young Alexander Hamilton served as aide, it is noticeable that the letters to Congress, to governors, and State legislatures were usually drafted by him. The commanding officer of the Commander in Chief's Guard did a great deal of secretarial work. During the strenuous periods of the war as many as ten to fifteen letters a day went out from Headquarters, and it is amusing to note how, with the arrival of each new aide, the bulk of the drafts, for some days, are in his writing. The older

and seasoned aides seemed to have put everything possible upon the "new broom," who accepted the situation without demur. In a week or so the new man began to grasp the situation, and his emancipation, or refusal to remain a quill-driving dray horse, is shown by the drafts again becoming fairly apportioned among all the aides present. The drafts of so many of Washington's letters being in the writing of his aides gave rise, in the past, to the idea that he could not write a good letter and that all credit for his compositions belongs to his aides, secretaries, and later to his Cabinet officers. Like other criticisms of Washington, this, when examined, falls to the ground. The young men who acted as aides-de-camp were all exceptional individuals. From the group, in later years, came United States Cabinet officers, diplomats, and State officials of note; they were all positive characters, and, if they are to be given credit for Washington's letters, their drafts would surely show different styles of composition. It can hardly be maintained that such positive characters as Alexander Hamilton, Edmund Randolph, John Laurens, Jonathan Trumbull, Tench Tilghman, and James McHenry, to mention only a few, all had the same literary style; and it is necessary only to read a few dozen of the letters here printed to catch their undeviating swing and mannerisms, regardless of which aide drafted them. It is plain, therefore, that Washington dominated his correspondence and can not be denied complete responsibility for it. Sufficient examples are found among the letters of his ability to condense and improve his aides' drafts with simple, more forceful English.

Washington's plain, easy-flowing penmanship could hardly have been slow, though it seems not to have been a rapid hand. It is too round and smooth to be slow, but there are among his manuscripts few examples of what may be called a swift pen movement. The attempt to explain the even pen stroke of

Washington's writing by attributing it to the use of a gold pen and pointing to the actual pen for proof belongs with many other exalted traditions that have no basis in fact. The history of pen manufacturing forbids its acceptance. Like others of his time, Washington cut his own quill pens, and the even writing stroke is caused by his never-varying pen-cutting method. Nearly always Washington stressed the point of legibility in writing, when considering the qualifications of candidates for aides; but in some cases, like that of Robert Hanson Harrison, he waived this point in favor of more important things. There was much quiet humor in George Washington, and it has been inexcusable to deny him this human touch, which he had in good measure. Humor will be found in the correspondence here printed, not abundantly, it is true, but more than could be rightfully expected in letters largely devoted to serious affairs. A glance at the faint but delightfully quizzical curve at the corners of the lips of the Houdon bust is convincing, and one of the documentary evidences is the indorsement on an undated letter from a person who tried to borrow £500 on the strength of a remarkable vision that came to him in a dream. Washington wrote: "From Mr. Thomas Bruff, without date and without Success."

The Revolutionary War correspondence, which is by far the largest group in all of the Washington Papers, was docketed and filed by a system not entirely clear; but there are indications that it was cumbersome and not satisfactory to Washington. Many of the letters bear his indorsement, and all were folded for filing in the three-section, double cross-fold, with the indorsement docket at the top of the middle section. It was not until 1781 that Headquarters records underwent their first comprehensive arrangement. This was done by Richard Varick, whom Washington had appointed his recording secretary.

The work performed by Varick and the corps of trained writers which he assembled systematized the Headquarters file for the first time during the war, and was a small part of the military reorganization that brought the Continental Army to its highest point of efficiency. The forty-four volumes in which Washington's letters from 1775 to 1783 are recorded are known as the Varick Transcripts. This transcribing, begun in 1781, caught up with the Headquarters correspondence in 1782, and from then on went forward as a part of the daily business. The arrangement of the mass of records that had accumulated at Headquarters in six years was a difficult problem, to the solution of which Washington contributed, though Richard Varick deserves full credit. The letters written by Washington were handled first; the tremendous mass of letters and reports sent to him were left as filed until the major problem could be solved. The solving of it, and the difficulties surmounted, is an appealing story to those interested in business efficiency.

These copies, which furnish an accurate check upon the drafts of the Revolutionary period, were transcribed in specially made blank books, folio size, averaging over five hundred pages to the volume, bound in undressed calf with laced, vellum backs.

The Headquarters records shared in all the risks and vicissitudes of the war, and one of the duties of the Commander in Chief's Guard was to see to their safety, in packing and transporting Headquarters impedimenta, whenever and wherever the Army moved. Washington's appreciation of the value of his papers is to be found in his correspondence. It shows that he was well aware of the fact that, despite the utmost precaution, the records at Headquarters were never entirely safe from prying eyes.

The last duty of the last detail of the Commander in Chief's Guard was to transport all the papers from Rocky Hill, New Jersey, to Mount Vernon, where a special vault was built for their storage.

The records and letters that accumulated during Washington's two terms as President of the United States were brought from Philadelphia with the rest of the household effects and added to the mass already there. The letters-sent record of the Presidential period was officially entered in letter books as the Government business developed day by day and a large part of this record is in the writing of Tobias Lear, the President's private secretary; other portions are in that of Bartholomew Dandridge, while David Humphreys, George Washington Craik (the son of Dr. James Craik), and Albin Rawlins and others are the copyists of the letters after March, 1797.

In his first administration Washington received a letter-press-copying machine, a gift from John de Neufville & Son, the Holland merchants who had fitted out the *Bon Homme Richard* for John Paul Jones. Washington had paper specially made for this machine, and the thin sheets on which a large number of his autograph letters were copied all bear his private watermark. These tissue-paper press copies form a special group, marked out by its physical characteristics.

The last distinct group of the Washington Papers consists of those created by the pseudo war with France in 1798–99, for which Washington was appointed Lieutenant General and Commander in Chief of the troops to be raised. A part of these records, which consist largely of lists of officers and candidates for commissions in the United States Army, with sundry comment and analysis of qualifications, is found in the Alexander Hamilton Papers, in the Library of Congress.

The Washington manuscripts remained at Mount Vernon until after the death of Mrs. Washington, a granddaughter of whom is authority for the statement that, shortly before her demise, Martha Washington destroyed her correspondence with the General. This seems to be the first disaster sustained by the Washington manuscripts. The next came in the destruction of the Lund Washington correspondence, destroyed by his widow in compliance with Lund's deathbed request.

After the Washington manuscripts came into the custody of Bushrod Washington, he gave away various documents in a spirit of friendly compliment, but with what appears historically as reckless and thoughtless indifference. This was the beginning of a series of spoliations which ended only when the United States acquired the collection. The greatest loss came as a result of the first publication of Washington's Writings by Jared Sparks. Sparks attempted this work at Mount Vernon, but, without a select library at his command, it soon became evident that this was impossible. He prevailed upon Bushrod Washington to permit him to take the records from Mount Vernon to Cambridge, Massachusetts, and, after some hesitancy, Bushrod permitted it. The acquiescence was unfortunate. Bushrod Washington died and title to the Washington manuscripts passed to George Corbin Washington, while the manuscripts were still in Sparks's possession and where they remained until after the Government purchased the first lot in 1834. The story of William Sprague's devastating appropriation of hundreds of choice Washington manuscripts, as told in Winsor's Narrative and Critical History of the United States, does not agree with Sparks's account of the matter written in 1836. The discrepancies in dates need explanation, and the only positive point is that Sprague helped himself liberally, if

at times ignorantly, and did not always leave copies of what he took. Bushrod Washington is said to have given Sprague permission, but this responsibility was not attributed to Bushrod until after his death; also the evidence is not conclusive that these papers were taken from and the copies left at Mount Vernon. Sparks's letter to George Corbin Washington in 1835, after the Government's purchase of the papers, regarding some missing diaries, is also difficult to interpret in the light of the inscribed diary leaf in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. The larger portion of Sprague's collection passed in a lump to Simon Gratz, of Philadelphia, and finally came to rest in the society just mentioned. From the time the Washington manuscripts came into the custody of the United States the collection has remained intact. Though several unfortunate transfers of groups of the records to various Government departments have been made, no losses have been experienced. One of these transfers came about through the unsupervised enthusiasm of John C. Hamilton, who was commissioned by the Government to prepare and publish the writings of Alexander Hamilton. In the progress of this work he was naturally obliged to use the Washington Papers, and he calmly transferred from those papers many of the important letters, sent by Hamilton to Washington, to the Hamilton manuscripts (then also owned by the Government), thus leaving for the historian unexpected and disconcerting gaps in the Washington manuscripts.

But by far the most damaging shift of material occurred when Colonel Frederick C. Ainsworth obtained the sanction of Congress for removing all of the military muster rolls, returns, orderly books, and similar records to the custody of the Record and Pension Division of the War Department, of which he was then the chief.

The Department of State, which had the custody of the Washington Papers (a national archives or public-records department not existing), acquitted itself well in the rôle of custodian. Jared Sparks had had the manuscripts bound into volumes, and in these bindings they remained for over a half century. There were no losses or damage suffered in the seventy years or so of the Department of State guardianship (1834–1903), though one curious incident did occur. When the craze for signatures of prominent individuals was rampant, an unknown vandal cut the signature of Major André from the brave but pathetic letter to Washington, begging the favor of a soldier's death and not one on a gibbet. The mutilation was discovered and official action taken which frightened the unknown thief into slipping the cut signature back into the volume, but the most expert manuscript repairing has not succeeded in concealing this mutilation.

In 1903, through the efforts of Worthington C. Ford, then Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, the Washington manuscripts (along with certain other groups of historical records) were transferred by Executive order from the Department of State to the Library of Congress. As transferred, the manuscripts were still as they had been bound by Jared Sparks. This binding was decidedly crude and, though it was a protection against loss, it was, decidedly, a contributory damaging element. After some years the Library of Congress undertook to repair and mount the manuscripts in the best known manner, and it is expected they will be in their final, permanent form in 1932.

In preparing the WRITINGS for the press, the editor has received cordial assistance from all sides, which is the more gratifying, showing how deep and warm is the interest of the general public in George Washington.

The thanks of the editor are especialy due to Dr. Worthington C. Ford, whose labors in precisely this same field are fully comprehended and well appreciated.

To Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, Chief of the Manuscripts Division of the Library of Congress, whose indefatigable and conscientious efforts in gathering photostat copies of Washington's letters that have become separated from the collection and to aid in perfecting these WRITINGS, special acknowledgments are due. To the Advisory Committee on the Writings, created and selected by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, the editor acknowledges his indebtedness for suggestion and helpful discussion. These thanks are due to the committee not only as a whole but to each of the individual members.

Special acknowledgment is made to the Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union for unusual favors and, above all, for the privilege of reproducing pictures of the Houdon bust, which is not only our most perfect representation of Washington's features but is in itself an absolutely accurate character presentation of the greatest American.

To Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, who bore the brunt of much of the difficult preliminary arrangements, and whose persistent activity was a large factor in the decision to publish these WRITINGS, my acknowledgments are sincerely tendered.

To the many private individuals who generously contributed copies and facsimiles of Washington letters in their possession, the editor feels peculiarly grateful; the willingness with which these copies were furnished was inspiring. Specific acknowledgment is made in the footnotes to each of these many individuals, who are too numerous to be mentioned with proper courtesy in a long list of names. The dealers in manuscripts throughout the country who cooperated with cheerfulness to the request for texts of Washington letters in their possession,

have proved themselves worthy the honor of handling George Washington letters. Not one who contributed did so in a grudging manner, and the editor takes real pleasure in acknowledging their assistance.

To the various historical societies, libraries, and the officials thereof, whom I am proud to consider as friends, I extend all the thanks I can express. The table of symbols *post* will show to some slight degree the extent to which these collections have been drawn upon to round out the WRITINGS, but it does not show the generous cooperation displayed by all of the organizations there listed.

And, lastly, it is more than proper that mention should be made of the aid and comfort given by those energetic personalities of the George Washington Bicentennial Commission who have been ready at all times to smooth over difficulties and forward the work: The Honorable Simeon D. Fess, Honorable Sol Bloom, Lieutenant Colonel U. S. Grant, 3d, Honorable R. Walton Moore, and Honorable William Tyler Page.

JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

WASHINGTON, D. C.,
November 25, 1930.

TABLE OF SYMBOLS

The following symbols have been used to denote the place of deposit of Washington letters not found in draft or letter-book form in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress:

Indicating that the letter is in Washington's own handwriting	*
Connecticut Historical Society	[C.H.S.]
Chicago Historical Society	[CH.H.S.]
Clements Library, University of Michigan	[C.L.]
Harvard College Library	[HV.L.]
Haverford College	[HD.C.]
Historical Society of Pennsylvania	[H.S.P.]
Huntington Library	[H.L.]
John Carter Brown Library, Rhode Island	[J.C.B.]
Maine Historical Society	[M.H.S.]
Maryland Historical Society	[MD.H.S.]
Massachusetts Historical Society	[MS.H.S.]
J. P. Morgan Library	[M.L.]
New York Historical Society	[N.Y.H.S.]
New Hampshire Historical Society	[N.H.H.S.]
New York Public Library	[N.Y.P.L.]
New York State Library	[N.Y.S.L.]
Rhode Island Historical Society	[R.I.H.S.]
Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati	[R.I.S.C.]
Society of the Cincinnati	[S.C.]
University of Pennsylvania Library	[U.P.]
Virginia Historical Society	[V.H.S.]
Virginia State Library	[V.S.L.]

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

THE WRITINGS OF GEORGE WASHINGTON

*SCHOOL EXERCISES

"August 13th 1745.[1]
GEORGE WASHINGTON"

*GEOMETRY

One of the Seven Sciences, and a very useful and Necessary Branch of the Mathematick; whose Subject is greatness: for as Number is the Subjeck of Arithmetick, so that of Geometry is Magnitude, which hath its beginning from Point, that is a

[1]The earliest surviving writings of George Washington, other than a few signatures on title pages of books, are the school exercises found among his papers. There are four groups of these exercises, and though the line of demarcation between the groups is not always clear, we are forced to accept them as they now stand. The Department of State repaired and sumptuously bound two of these groups and by so doing emphasized them above the unbound groups. The first is titled "Washington's School Copy Book" (a volume of 30 leaves, 60 pages). The second is titled "Forms of Writings and Rules of Civility" (17 leaves, 34 pages). The third is an unbound school exercise book (102 leaves, 204 pages), generally known as "School Copy Book No. 2," and the fourth an unbound book of "Early Survey Exercises" (8 leaves, 16 pages) dating 1749.

The extracts are from the bound "School Copy Book." The "Forms of Writings," which, from internal evidence, dates approximately 1745, contains models, or forms, for a promissory note, a bill of exchange, a tobacco receipt, a bail bond, a penal bill, judgment bond, etc.; also a servant's indenture, deed of gift, a short will, with notes on the differences to be observed in wills made in England and in France; a land conveyance, land lease, a Virginia land patent, etc. The last 10 pages of the "Forms of Writings" contain the well-known Rules of Civility and Decent Behaviour in Company and Conversation, which have been too often printed with explanatory notes to need comment here.

Unbound "School Exercise Book No. 2" certainly antedates the bound "School Copy Book," for the first pages now surviving (the original first pages are missing) begin with more elemental exercises, to wit, multiplication, decimals, and interest. After these come geometrical exercises, which cover the same ground as that in the bound "School Copy Book," pass on into trigonometry, and finally into surveying, where the problems are much more practical and advanced. It thus seems that the first part of these unbound exercises is the earliest of Washington's school work and that the last half may be of a later date than the "School Copy Book" of 1745.

Thing Supposed to be indivisible, and the Original of all Dimension. By it is explained the Nature, Kind and Property of continued Magnitude that is a Line, a Superficies and a Solid of which in their proper Order.

GEOMETRICAL DEFINITIONS

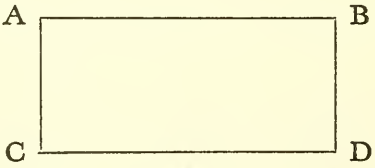
1st. A Point is void of length Breadth and Depth as the Point

A_____A.

2d. A Line is made by the moving of a Point and has length only as A B which is the first kind of Magnitude

A_____B

3d. A Superfices is made by the moving of a line and has length and breadth as A B C D is the Second Kind of quantity.



* * * * *[2]

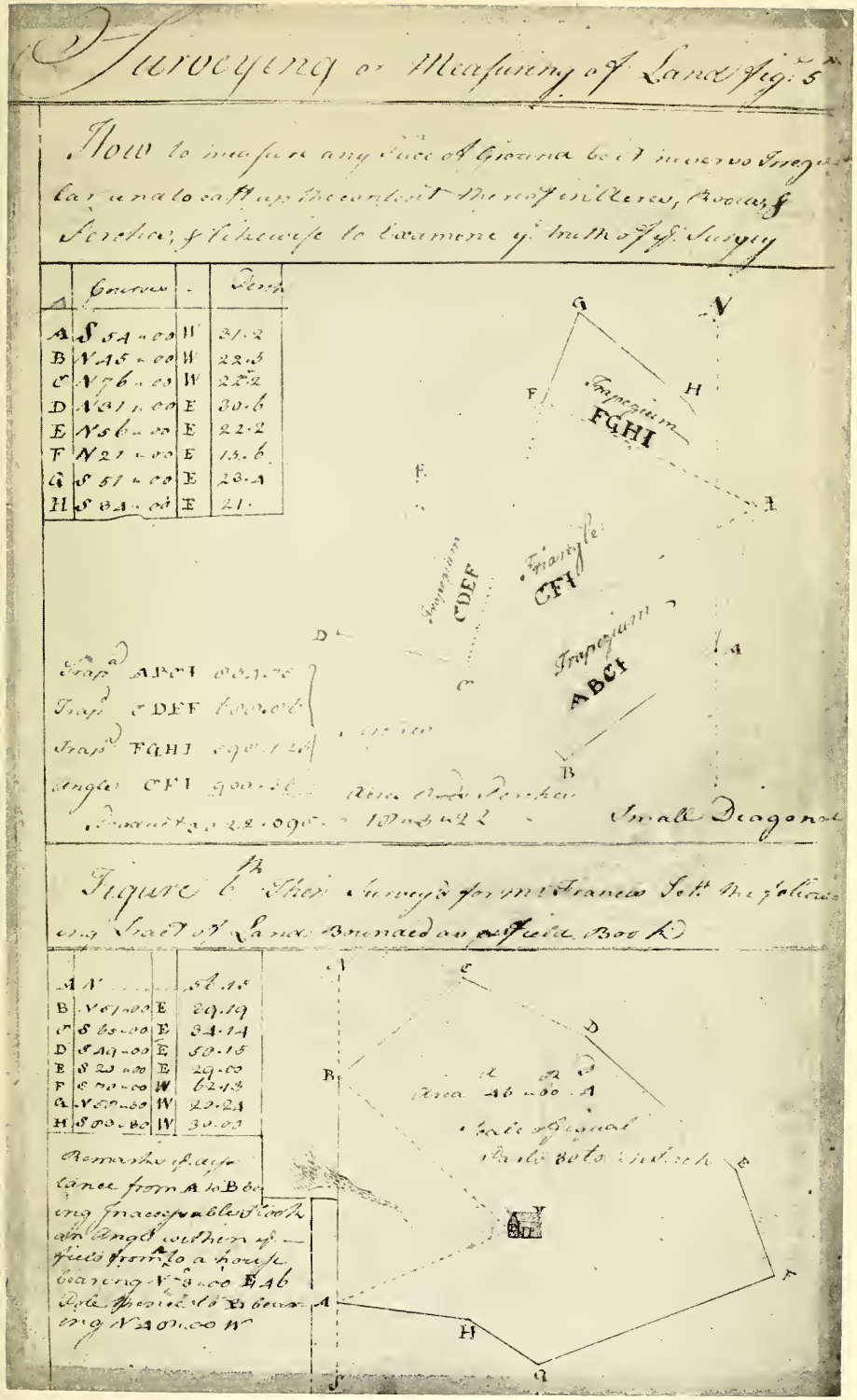
SURVEYING

Is the Art of Measuring Land and consists of 3 Parts 1st, The going round and Measuring a Piece of Wood Land 2d. Plotting the Same and 3d To find the Content thereof and first how to Measure a Piece of Land.

* * * * *[3]

[2] There are 16 definitions which carry through to those of a solid cube and sphere. After the definitions come six geometric theorems, for each of which the proper principle of Euclid is cited. No axioms are stated as is the practice to-day; Washington's teacher, whoever he may have been, evidently believed in a memory tenacity of arbitrary rules. The geometrical problems with neatly drawn diagrams are not different from those taught to-day, except that they are not so succinctly put and are mainly problems of construction, bearing directly upon practical survey work. After 29 of these problems the survey exercises begin.

[3] After the survey problems, which are many, with neatly drawn plots of fields with trees and water courses, there are problems in solid measure, in gauging, in finding the cycle of the sun, the exact date of Easter, etc.



PAGE FROM WASHINGTON'S "SCHOOL EXERCISE BOOK"

COLLEGE OF EUROPE
LIBRARY

SOLID MEASURE

Is that of Timber, Stone Digging and Liquods; and the Rule for Working is

To MULTIPLY the Length and Breadth together, and that Product by the Depth or thickness and the Last Product will be the Content in Cubick Inches which if Timber or Stone divide by 1725 (the Cubick Inches in a Foot Solid) and the Quotient gives the Content in Solid Feet.

EXAMPLE

If a Tree be 16 Foot Long and 18 perches Square, how many Solid feet Doth it Contain.

```
   16          18
   12          18
  ----        ----
  192         144
               18
              ----
              324
              192
             -----
              640
             2916
             324
        ----------
        1728)62200(36
             5184
        ----------
             10368
             10368        Ansr. 36 Solid Feet
             -----
```

* * * * *

GAUGING

THERE is a near affinity between the art of Measuring Timber and that of Gauging Liquors for both are Perform'd by

Cube or Solid Measure for as often as there are found 1720 Solid or Cubick Inches in a Piece of Timber, (of what form Soever) so many Solid Feet as it Said to Contain: So likewise in the Art of Gauging so many times as 282 (the Solid Inches in a Beer or Ale Gallon) are found in any Vessel of Such Liquor; So many Gallons is Such a Vessel Said to hold. And so of Wine but in that the Divisor alters, it being 231 Sclid or Cubick Inches and the Gallon of Dry Measure contains 272¼ Cubucal Inches.

* * * * *

MENSURATION OF PLAIN SUPERFICES SUCH AS PLANK, WAINSCOT, PAINTINGS, GLASS, &C.

THE GENERAL RULE IS

TO MULTIPLY the Length by the Breadth the Product is the Content: but in Measuring Plank it is Usual to Multiply the Length in feet by the Breadth In Inches and Divide by 12 the Quotient is the Content in Square feett.

* * * * *

A DESCRIPTION OF THE LEAP YEAR. DOMINICAL LETTER, GOLDEN NUMBER, CYCLE OF THE SUN, ROMON INDICTION, EPACT &C. WITH MEMORIAL VERSES ON THE ECCLESIASTICAL AND CIVIL KALENDER.

The Golden Number or Prime is a Circular Revolution of 19 years in which term of years it hath been anciently Supposed that the Sun and Moon do make all the Variety of Aspects one to another.

* * * * *

GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITIONS

Defin 1st. The Globe of the Earth is a Spherical Body Composed of Earth and Water &c. Divided in to Contenants Islands and Seas.

2d. A Contenent is a great Quantity of Land not Divided nor Separated by the Sea wherein are many Kingdoms and

Principalities; as Europe Asia Africa is one Continent and America Another.

* * * * *

7 The Ocean is a general Collection of the Waters wch environeth the Earth on every side.

* * * * *

The Provinces of North America are

New France	New Jersey	Carolina North and South
New England	Maryland	Terra Florida
New York	Virginia	Mexico or New Spain
Pensylvania		

The Chief Islands are

Icelands	Hispaniola	Jamaica
Greenland	Cuba	Barbadoes and the rest
Colofornia	Porto Rico	of the Caribee Isclands

* * * * *[4]

*JOURNEY OVER THE MOUNTAINS[5]

1748

Fryday March 11th 1747/8.[6] Began my Journey in Company with George Fairfax,[7] Esqr., we travell'd this day 40 Miles[8] to Mr. George Neavels[9] in Prince William County

[4] The book ends with astronomical exercises, the names of the stars, the constellations, and the method of using a globe.

[5] This journey with George William Fairfax, seven years Washington's senior, was undertaken on the authority of the Hon. William Fairfax, agent for Thomas, Lord Fairfax, to lay out his lordship's lands in the Shenandoah for leaseholders. James Genn and, apparently, several other older men composed the party. The journal is the earliest of Washington's diaries.

[6] The double date was the English custom, largely a commercial necessity in dealing with Continental Europe, because England did not adopt the Gregorian calendar, as had Europe, until 1752. The proper date in this instance is 1748.

[7] George William Fairfax (1725–1787) was the eldest son of the Hon. William Fairfax and his second wife, Sarah Walker. He took up his permanent residence at his father's estate, Belvoir, just below Mount Vernon. He became a burgess for Frederick County, 1748–49, and married Sarah, eldest daughter of Col. Wilson Cary, in December, 1748, who became, on the death of her father-in-law's third wife, Deborah Clarke, mistress of Belvoir. He was colonel of Frederick militia, 1755–56,

Saturday March 12th This Morning Mr. James Genn[10] the surveyer came to us we travell'd over the Blue Ridge[11] to Capt. Ashby's[12] on Shannondoah River, Nothing remarkable happen'd

Sunday March 13 Rode to his Lordships Quarter[13] about 4 Miles higher up y. River we went through most beautiful Groves of Sugar Trees and spent the best part of the Day in admiring the Trees and richness of the Land

---

and held various customs offices. He went to England in 1773 on business, and the Revolutionary War broke out before he returned. He was sympathetic toward the Colonial cause, and there are grounds for belief that, had he been in America at the time, he would have aligned himself with the colonists. He died at Bath, England, April 3, 1787.

[8] They had set out from Belvoir, crossed the Occoquan Ferry, and struck into the old road leading from the head of Quantico to the Prince William Courthouse of the day at Cedar Run; whence they pushed on west to George Neavil's ordinary.

[9] George Neavil, whose will was proved in Fauquier in 1774, lived and kept an ordinary at the junction of two important north and south interior highways, namely: (1) that which Washington was about to follow leading north from the falls of the Rappahannock at Falmouth, through the thoroughfare of Cedar Run to Ashbys Gap of the Blue Ridge, and (2) the older Indian trail originally known as the Shenandoah Hunting Path and later as the Carolina Road, which led south from Williams Gap of the Blue Ridge, skirted the Bull Run Mountain on the east, and at Neavil's turned west to cross the Rappahannock at Normans Ford above the Great Fork. Both these roads had been avenues by which, during the 15 years prior to Washington's journey, pioneers had migrated from the tidewater to settle the upper Piedmont. Until 1759 this tavern was in Prince William. It was mentioned by Archdeacon Burnaby, as well as by other literary eighteenth-century travelers in Virginia, and still stands in the village of Auburn in Fauquier County. The confusion of Neavil's and West's ordinaries is cleared, and authority for the location of both, based upon local records, may be found in *Fauquier Historical Society Bulletin,* vol. 1, p. 66.

[10] James Genn was, in 1748, the county surveyor of Prince William County, who lived on the Falmouth Road some distance south of Neavil's. It was the rendezvous with him which determined the route via Neavil's. Genn was an experienced wilderness surveyor. In 1746 he had been engaged in the work of running the Northern Neck back line from the head spring of Conway (Rapidan) in the Blue Ridge to the head spring of Potomac in the Alleghanies, and in 1747 he had surveyed Lord Fairfax's South Branch and Greenway Court Manors. It was to subdivide the former into lots to be leased to tenants that the present expedition was on foot.

[11] They followed the trail through what became Fauquier, over the route subsequently adopted for the Winchester Road, and crossed the Blue Ridge at Ashbys Bent. This route was subsequently laid down by Dalrymple on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map.

[12] This was Capt. John Ashby, who kept the original Shenandoah Ferry where the Winchester road still crosses that river. He was the eldest son of Thomas Ashby, for whom Ashbys Bent of the Blue Ridge was named.

[13] This was the future Greenway Court, where Lord Fairfax was to establish his residence a year after Washington's journey. It had been laid out as a quarter in the summer of 1747.

Monday 14th We sent our Baggage to Capt. Hites [14] (near Frederick Town)[15] went ourselves down the River about 16 Miles to Capt. Isaac Penningtons (the Land exceeding Rich and Fertile all the way produces abundance of Grain Hemp Tobacco &ca.) in order to lay of some Lands on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh[16]

Tuesday 15th We set out early with Intent to Run round the sd. Land but being taken in a Rain and it Increasing very fast obliged us to return it clearing about one oClock and our time being too Precious to Loose we a second time ventur'd out and Worked hard till Night and then return'd to Penningtons we got our Supper and was lighted into a Room and I not being so good a Woodsman as the rest of my Company striped myself very orderly and went into the Bed as they called it when to my Surprize I found it to be nothing but a Little Straw-Matted together without Sheets or any thing else but only one thread Bear blanket with double its Weight of Vermin such as Lice Fleas &c. I was glad to get up (as soon as the Light was carried from us) I put on my Cloths and Lay as my Companions. Had we not been very tired I am sure we should not have slep'd much that night I made a Promise not to Sleep so from that time forward chusing rather to sleep in the open Air before a fire as will appear hereafter.

March the 15th. Survey'd for George Fairfax Esqr. a Tract of Land lying on Cates Marsh and Long Marsh. . . .[17]

Wednesday 16th We set out early and finish'd about one oClock and then Travell'd up to Frederick Town where our

[14] Jost Hite disputed the claim of Lord Fairfax to certain lands in the so-called Northern Neck of Virginia.

[15] Frederick Town, the same as Winchester.

[16] Cates and Long Marsh are formed by small streams which flow from the foothills of North Mountain to the Shenandoah; Long Marsh is named on several maps.—*Toner.*

[17] George William Fairfax. Henry Ashby and Robert Taylor are given as chainmen, Robert Ashby as marker and William Lindsy as pilot.

Baggage came to us we cleaned ourselves (to get Rid of the Game we had catched the Night before) and took a Review of the Town and thence return'd to our Lodgings where we had a good Dinner prepar'd for us Wine and Rum Punch in Plenty and a good Feather Bed with clean Sheets which was a very agreeable regale

Thursday 17th Rain'd till Ten oClock and then clearing we reached as far as Major Campbells[18] one of there Burgesses about 25 Miles from Town nothing Remarkable this day nor Night but that we had a Tolerable good Bed [to] lay on.

Fryday 18th We Travell'd up about 35 Miles to Thomas Barwicks[19] on Potomack where we found the River so excessively high by Reason of the Great Rains that had fallen up about the Allegany Mountains they told us which was then bringing down the melted Snow and that it would not be fordable for several Days it was then above Sixx foot Higher than usual and was rising we agreed to stay till Monday we this day call'd to see the Fam'd Warm Springs[20] we camped out in the field this Night Nothing Remarkable happen'd till Sonday the 20th.

Sonday 20th finding the River not much abted we in the Evening Swam our horses over and carried them to Charles Polks in Maryland for Pasturage till the next Morning

Monday 21st We went over in a Canoe and travell'd up Maryland side all the Day in a Continued Rain to Collo Cresaps[21] right against the Mouth of the South Branch about 40

[18] Maj. Andrew Campbell; his last service as burgess from Frederick County had been in 1745.

[19] Berwicks or Barwicks above Harpers Ferry.

[20] Warm Springs, now Bath or Berkeley Springs, Morgan County, W. Va.

[21] Col. Thomas Cresap, one of the famous American frontiersmen. Finally settled at what came to be known as Old Town, on the Maryland side of the Potomac, just above the junction of the North Branch and South Branch.

Miles from Polks I believe the worst Road that ever was trod by Man or Beast

Tuesday 22d Continued Rain and the Freshes kept us at Cresaps.

Wednesday 23d Rain'd till about two oClock and Clear'd when we were agreeably surpris'd at the sight of thirty odd Indians coming from War with only one Scalp We had some Liquor with us of which we gave them Part it elevating there Spirits put them in the Humour of Dauncing of whom we had a War Daunce there manner of Dauncing is as follows Viz They clear a Large Circle and make a Great Fire in the middle then seats themselves around it the Speaker makes a grand speech telling them in what Manner they are to Daunce after he has finished the best Dauncer jumps up as one awaked out of a Sleep and runs and Jumps about the Ring in a most comical Manner he is followed by the Rest then begins there Musicians to Play the Musick is a Pot half [full] of Water with a Deerskin Streched over it as tight as it can and a goard with some Shott in it to Rattle and a Piece of an horses Tail tied to it to make it look fine the one keeps Rattling and the other Drumming all the while the others is Dauncing

Fryday 25th Nothing Remarkable on thursday but only being with the Indians all day so shall slip it this day left Cresaps and went up to the mouth of Patersons Creek and there swam our Horses over got over ourselves in a Canoe and traveld up the following Part of the Day to Abram Johnstones 15 Miles from the Mouth where we camped

Saturday 26 Travelld up the Creek to Solomon Hedges Esqr one of his Majestys Justices of the Peace for the County of Frederick where we camped when we came to Supper there was neither a Cloth upon the Table nor a knife to eat with but as good luck would have it we had knives of [our] own.

Sunday 27th Travell'd over to the South Branch attended with the Esqr[22] to Henry Vanmetriss[23] in order to go about Intended Work of Lots

Monday 28th Travell'd up the Branch about 30 Miles to Mr. James Rutlidges Horse Jockey and about 70 Miles from the Mouth

Tuesday 29th This Morning went out and Survey'd five Hundred Acres of Land and went down to one Michael Stumps on the So Fork of the Branch on our way Shot two Wild Turkies.

Thursday 31st Early this Morning one of our Men went out with the Gun and soon Returned with two Wild Turkies we then went to our Business run of three lots and returned to our Camping place at Stumps

March 31st Lot 4th. this Lot survey'd myself Beginning at a Pine by a Rock . . .

APRIL

Fryday April the 1st This Morning Shot twice at Wild Turkies but kill'd none run of three Lots and returned to Camp

Saterday 2d Last Night was a blowing and Rainy night Our Straw catch'd a Fire yt. we were laying upon and was luckily Preserv'd by one of our Mens awaking when it was in a [blaze] we run of four Lots this Day which Reached below Stumps. . .

Sunday 3d Last Night was a much more blostering night than the former we had our Tent carried Quite of with the Wind and was obliged to Lie the Latter part of the night without covering there came several Persons to see us this day one of our Men Shot a Wild Turkie

Monday 4th this morning Mr. Fairfax left us with Intent to go down to the Mouth of the Branch we did two Lots and was

[22] Solomon Hedges.
[23] Henry Van Metre or Meter.

attended by a great Company of People Men Women and Children that attended us through the Woods as we went showing there Antick tricks I really think they seemed to be as Ignorant a Set of People as the Indians they would never speak English but when spoken to they speak all Dutch[24] this day our Tent was blown down by the Violentness of the Wind

* * * * *

Wednesday 6th Last Night was so Intolerable smoky that we were obliged all hands to leave the Tent to the Mercy of the Wind and Fire this day was attended by our afored Company untill about 12 oClock when we finish'd we travell'd down the Branch to Henry Vanmetris's on our Journey was catched in avery heavy Rain we got under a Straw House untill the Worst of it was over and then continued our Journey

Thursday 7th Rain'd Successively all Last Night this Morning one of our men Killed a Wild Turkie that weight 20 Pounds we went and Sudvey'd 15 Hundred Acres of Land and Return'd to Vanmetris's about 1 oClock about two I heard that Mr Fairfax was come up and at 1 Peter Casseys about 2 Miles of in the same Old Field I then took my Horse and went up to see him we eat our Dinners and Walked down to Vanmetris's we stayed about two Hours and Walked back again and slept in Casseys House which was the first Night I had slept in a House since I came to the Branch

Fryday 8th we breakfasted at Casseys and Rode down to Vanmetris's to get all our Company together which when we had accomplished we Rode down below the Trough in order to Lay of Lots there we laid of one this day The Trough is [a] couple of Ledges of Mountain Impassable running side and side together for above 7 or 8 Miles and the River down between them you must Ride Round the back of the Mountain

[24] German emigrants who had come up the Shenandoah Valley from Pennsylvania.

for to get below them we Camped this Night in the Woods near a Wild Meadow where was a Large Stack of Hay after we had Pitched our Tent and made a very Large Fire we pull'd out our Knapsack in order to Recruit ourselves every [one] was hisown Cook our Spits was Forked Sticks our Plates was a Large Chip as for Dishes we had none

Saterday 9th Set the Surveyor to work whilst Mr Fairfax and myself stayed at the Tent our Provisions being all exhausted and the Person that was to bring us a Recruit disappointing us we were oblige to go without untill we could get some from the Neighbours which was not till about 4 or 5 oClock in the Evening we then took our Leaves of the Rest of our Company Road Down to John Colins in order to set off next Day homewards

Sunday 10th We took our farewell of the Branch and travell'd over Hills and Mountains to 1 Coddys on Great Cacapehon about 40 Miles

Monday 11th We Travell'd from Coddys down to Frederick Town where we Reached about 12 oClock we dined in Town and then went to Capt. Hites and Lodged

Tuesday 12th We set of from Capt. Hites in order to go over Wms. Gap about 20 Miles and after Riding about 20 Miles we had 20 to go for we had lost ourselves and got up as High as Ashbys Bent we did get over Wms. Gap that Night[25] and as low as Wm. Wests[26] in Fairfax County 18 Miles from the Top

[25] Crossing the Blue Ridge at Williams (now Snickers) Gap, they followed the Shenandoah Hunting Path south to West's ordinary at the head of the Bull Run Mountain; thence they struck southeast by a forest trail which ultimately became the Colchester Road, and so reached Belvoir and Mount Vernon. His diaries show that Washington pursued this same route many times thereafter.

[26] West's ordinary, kept successively for three generations by William, Charles, and Thomas West, and after the Revolution known as Lacys, is a landmark still standing at the head of the Bull Run Mountain, near the modern village of Aldie, in what was Fairfax County in 1748, but 10 years later became Loudoun. It is indicated by name on the 1755 edition of the Fry and Jefferson map, as well as on Thomas Jefferson's map of 1787.

of the Ridge This day [we] see a Rattled Snake the first we had seen in all our Journey.

Wednesday the 13th of April 1748 Mr Fairfax got safe home and I myself safe to my Brothers[27] which concludes my Journal.

*To LAWRENCE WASHINGTON[28]

May 5, 1749.

Dear Brother: I hope your Cough is much mended since I saw you last, if so likewise hope you have given over the thoughts of leaving Virginia.

As there is not an absolute occasion of my coming down, hope you'l get the Deeds acknowledged without Me; my Horse is in very poor order to undertake such a journey, and is in no likelihood of mending for want of Corn sufficient to support him, tho if there be any certainty in your Assemblys not rising untill the latter end of May, will if I can be down by then. As my Mothers term of Years is out at that Place at Bridges Creek,[29] she designs to Settle a Quarter on that Piece at Deep Run,[30] but seems backward of doing it untill the Right is made good, for fear of accidents.

Its reported here that Mr. Spotswood intends to put down the Ferry that is kept at the Wharf where he now lives, and that Major Francis Talliaferro intends to petition the Assembly for an Act to have it kept from his House over against my Mothers Quarter, and right through the very Heart and best of the Land;[31] whereas he can have no other view in it but for the Conveniency of a small Mill he has on the Water side, that

[27] Lawrence Washington's; Mount Vernon on the Potomac.

[28] From facsimile in M. D. Conway's *Barons of the Potomack and the Rappahannock* (New York: 1892), p. 97, from original, then in the W. F. Havemeyer collection.

[29] Her husband's property, Augustine Washington's homestead in Westmoreland County, where George Washington was born.

[30] On the Rappahannock River, above Fredericksburg.

[31] The river farm of Mrs. Mary Washington on the Rappahannock.

will not Grind above three Months in the twelve and the great inconveniency and prejudice it will be to us, hope it will not be granted, besides, I do not see where he can Possibly have a Landing Place on his side that will ever be sufficient for a Lawful Landing (by reason of the steepness of the Banks;) I think we suffer enough with the Free Ferry, without being troubled with such an unjust and iniwuitous Petition as that, but hope as its only a flying report he will consider better of it and drop his pretentions. I should be glad (if its not too much trouble) to hear from you in the mean while remain with my Love to my Sister,[32] Dear Sir, Your Affectionate Brother.

*To ——— ———

[1749–50]

Dear Sir: I should receive a Letter or Letters from you by the first and all appertunitys with the greatest sense or mark of your esteem and affection whereas its the greatest Pleasure I can yet forsee of having in fairfax to hear from my Intimate friends and acquaintances as I hope you in Particular will not Bauk me of what I so ardently Wish for.[33]

*To ——— ———

[1749–50]

Dear Friend John: As its the greatest mark of friendship and esteem you can shew to an absent Friend In often Writing

[32] Ann Fairfax, Mrs. Lawrence Washington.

[33] This and the six following undated letters are entered in the small memorandum book that contains the diary of the "Journey Over the Mountains, 1748." They seem to have been entered at a period after that journey had been made and the dates therefore would fall in the years 1749–50, when Washington was surveying in Frederick County for Lord Fairfax and others. The fumbling composition of this letter and the repetition of thought in those to John, Robin, and Sally justify the suggestion that Washington was merely practicing letter writing and that these letters were not actually sent. The letters to Mrs. Lawrence Washington and to Lord Fairfax, however, are less open to this doubt.

to him so hope youl not deny me that Favour as its so ardently wish'd and Desired by me. its the greatest pleasure I can yet forsee of having in fairfax to hear from my friends Particularly yourself was my affections disengaged I might perhaps form some pleasures in the conversasion of an agreeable young Lady as there is one now Lives in the same house with me [but as that only serves to make me more dull by putting me oftener in Remembrance of the other] but as that is only nourishment to my former Affa for by often seeing her brings the other into my remembrance where as perhaps was she not often (unavoidably) presenting herself to my view I might in some measure eliviate my sorrows by burrying the other in the grave of oblivion I am well convinced my heart stands in defiance of all others but only he thats given it [for much] care enough to dread a second assault and from a different Quarter tho I well know let it have as many attacks as it will from others they cant be more fierce than it has been I could wish to know whether you have taken your intended trip downwards or not if you wish what Success as also to know how my friend Lawrence drives on in his art of courtship as I fancy you mgt. both nearly guess how it will respectively go with each of you.

*To ——— ———

[1749–50]

Dear Friend Robin: As its the greatest mark of friendship and esteem Absent Friends can shew each other in Writing and often communicating their thoughts to his fellow Companions makes me endeavor to signalize myself in acquainting you from time to time and at all times my situation and employments of Life and could wish you would take half the Pains of contriving me a letter by any oppertunity as you may be well assured of its meeting with a very welcome reception my Place

of Residence is at present at His Lordships[34] where I might was my heart disengag'd pass my time very pleasantly [agreeably] as theres a very agreeable Young Lady Lives in the same House (Colo. George Fairfax's Wife's Sister)[35] but as that's only adding Fuel to fire it makes me the more uneasy for by often and unavoidably being in Company with her revives my former Passion for your Low Land Beauty whereas was I to live more retired from young Women I might in some measure eliviate my sorrows by burying that chast and troublesome Passion in the grave of oblivion or etarnall forgetfulness for as I am very well assured that's the only antidote or remedy that I ever shall be releivd by or only recess than can administer any cure or help to me as I am well convinced was I ever to attempt any thing I should only get a denial which would be only adding grief to uneasiness.

*To ——— ———

[1749–50]

Dear Sally: This comes to Fredericksburg fair in hopes of meeting with a speedy Passage to you if your not there which hope you'l get shortly altho I am almost discouraged from Writing to you as this is my fourth to you since I receivd any from yourself I hope [tho I am out of Sight youl not lett me be out of Mind] you'l not make the Old Proverb good out of sight out of Mind as its one of the greatest Pleasures I can yet foresee of. having in Fairfax in often hearing from you hope you'l not deny it me

I pass the time of much more agreeabler than what I imagined I should as there's a very agreeable Young Lady lives in

[34] Greenway Court.

[35] Probably Sarah Fairfax, later the wife of John Carlyle, of Alexandria.

the said house where I reside (Colo. George Fairfax's wife Sister) that in a great measure cheats my sorrow and dejectedness tho not so as to draw my thoughts altogether from you Parts I could wish to be with you down there with all my heart but as it is a thing almost Impractakable shall rest my self where I am with hopes of shortly having some minutes of your transactions in your Parts which will be very welcomely received by your

*To ——— ———

[1749–50]

Dear Richard: The receipt of your kind favor of the 2d of this Instant afforded me unspeakable pleasure as I am convinced I am still in the Memory of so Worthy a friend a friendship I shall ever be proud of Increasing you gave me the more pleasure as I receiv'd it amongst a parcel of Barbarian's and an uncooth set of People the like favour often repeated would give me Pleasure altho I seem to be in a Place where no real Satis: be had since you receid my Letter in October Last I have not sleep'd above three Nights or four in a bed but after walking a good deal all the Day lay down before the fire upon a Little Hay Straw Fodder or bairskin whichever is to be had with Man Wife and Children like a Parcel of Dogs or Catts and happy's he that gets the Birth nearest the fire there's nothing would make it pass of tolerably but a good Reward a Dubbleloon is my constant gain every Day that the Weather will permit my going out and sometime Six Pistoles the coldness of the Weather will not allow my making a long stay as the Lodging is rather too cold for the time of Year I have never had my cloths of but lay and sleep in them like a Negro except the few Nights I have lay'n in Frederick Town

*To MRS. LAWRENCE WASHINGTON[36]

[1749–50]

I heartily Congratulate you on the happy News of my Brothers safe arrival *in health* in England and am joy'd to hear that his stay is likely to be so short. I hope you'll make Use of your Natural Resolution and contendness as they are the only remedys to spend the time of with ease and pleasure to yourself. I am deprived of the pleasure of waiting on you (as I expected) by Aguee and Feaver which I have had to Extremety since I left which has occasioned my Return D[own?].

*To LORD FAIRFAX

[1749–50]

My Lord: I went last Tuesday not knowing your Lordship had that very day set out for Neavels to see whether you had any further Commands or directions to give concerning the Surveying of Cacapehon and as your Lordship was not at Home I was inform by Colo. G. Fairfax that you had not any Directions in Particular more than were given to the other Surveyors as Your Lordship had mentioned therefore have made bold to Proceed on General Directions from as [a pity to Miss four or five Days of such weather as we now have] the Missing this Oppertunity of Good Weather maybe of considerable Hindrance I shall wait on your Lordship at Frederick Court in November to obey your further Pleasure and am my Lord &c.

MEMORANDUM

[1749–50]

*Mem To Survey the Lands at the Mouth of Little Cacapehon[37] and the Mouth of Fifteen Mile Creek[38] for the Gentlemen of the Ohio Com:[39]

[36] This letter is in draft form, in the diary of the "Journey Over the Mountains, 1748." Lawrence Washington, husband of Ann Fairfax, had journeyed to England. The draft is unfinished, which raises the question of the draft being merely an exercise or of a letter actually sent. By "my return down" Washington could have meant to Fredericksburg or Westmoreland.

POETRY

[1749–50]

*From your bright sparkling Eyes, I was undone;
Rays, you have more transparent than the sun,
A midst its glory in the rising Day,
None can you equal in your bright array;
Constant in your calm and unspotted Mind;
Equal to all, but will to none Prove kind,
So knowing, seldom one so Young, you'l Find
Ah! woe's me, that I should Love and conceal,
Long have I wish'd, but never dare reveal,
Even though severly Loves Pains I feel;
Xerxes that great, was't free from Cupids Dart,
And all the greatest Heroes, felt the smart.[40]

* * * * *

*Oh Ye Gods why should my Poor Resistless Heart
Stand to oppose thy might and Power
At Last surrender to cupids feather'd Dart
And now lays Bleeding every Hour
For her that's Pityless of my grief and Woes
And will not on me Pity take
Ile sleep amongst my most Inveterate Foes
And with gladness never with to Wake
In deluding sleepings let my Eyelids close
That in an enraptured Dream I may
In a soft lulling sleep and gentle repose
Possess those joys denied by Day

[37] The Great and Little Cacapehon, Virginia tributaries to the Potomac. They are now sometimes called Great and Little Capon.

[38] Fifteen-Mile Creek, a Maryland tributary to the Potomac, which it joins about 15 miles above Hancock, Md.

[39] The Ohio Company, predecessor of the Potomac Company. An Indian trade and western land venture in which Washington's half brother Lawrence was an organizer. Thomas Lee, father of Richard Henry Lee, was made president. John Hanbury, a London merchant, from whom George Washington later purchased supplies for Mount Vernon, bought shares. A grant of half a million acres of land between the Monongahela and Kanawha Rivers was obtained from the Crown. It was in this

*MEMORANDUM

[1749–50]

When I see my Brother Austin[41] to Enquire of Him whether He is the Acting Attorney for my Brother and as my Brother Lawrence left Directions with the Hon: W Fx to remit his Pay as Agetant whether it would not be more proper to keep it to Pay the Notes of Hands thats Daily coming against him and to Write Word to Williamsburg to Acquaint his Hon. my B: A: to Write him Word

*BARBADOES JOURNAL

1751–52[42]

NOVEMBER

17th. Was strongly attacked with the small Pox: sent for Dr. Lanahan whose attendance was very constant till my recovery and going out which was not 'till thursday the 12th of December.

* * * * *

region that Governor Dinwiddie made his grant to the Virginia officers and soldiers for their French and Indian War service, and the lands afterwards obtained by Washington on the Kanawha under Dinwiddie's proclamation might easily have been considered as coinciding with the Ohio Company grant. Christopher Gist was employed by the company to examine and report on these lands and act as an agent. In 1750 the company built the storehouse at Wills Creek and at Red Stone on the Monongahela. The fort begun by Capt. William Trent under Governor Dinwiddie's orders was another of the company's activities. This was an important factor in influencing the so-called French encroachments which resulted in the building of Fort Duquesne, the Jumonville skirmish, the capitulation of Fort Necessity, and Braddock's defeat. The Ohio Company was merged into what is known as Walpole's Grant, and the Revolutionary War put an end to the entire scheme.

[40] This acrostic seems properly attributed to Frances Alexander, though whether it was left unfinished through a diverted interest or lack of ability can not be known. Both effusions have the merit of being original efforts; they are in the memorandum book which contains the "Journey Over the Mountains, 1748."

[41] Augustine Washington was called Austin by George. The memorandum, undated, is in the diary of the "Journey Over the Mountains, 1748," and seems connected with Lawrence Washington's trip to England. Lawrence held the post of one of the district adjutants of Virginia.

DECEMBER

12th. Went to Town visited Majr. Clarke's Family (who kindly visited me in my illness and contributed all they cou'd in sendg. me the necessary's required in the disorder) and dined with Majr. Gaskens a half Br. to Mrs. Clarke:

22d. Took my leave of my Br.[43] Majr. Clarke &ca. and Imbar[ked] in the Industry Captn. John Saund[ers] for Virginia wai'd anchor and got out of Carlile Bay abt. 12.

[2]3d. Met with a brosk Trade Wind and pretty large Swell wch made the Ship rowl much and me very sick. at 2 P. M Espy'd a Sail In the Latitude of Martineca bearing down for the Island.

1751/2

JANUARY

[26th.] Abt. Sun's Rising ad got to the Mouth of York River abt. 11 P. M. and was met by pilot boat . . .
. . . Hired . . . Williamsburg . . . Letters to the Gover[44] . . . had just gone to greensprin . . . Diner as I got to the great . . . polis; upon his return (which . . . at Night) I waited upon and wa[s] received Graceously he enquired kindly after the health of my Br. and invited me to stay and dine . . .

[42]The journal kept by Washington when he accompanied his half brother Lawrence to the island of Barbadoes is the worst mutilated of all the surviving diaries. Whole pages are missing and in many instances only a scrap or sliver of a page exists. Maj. Lawrence Washington traveled to Barbadoes in hopes of benefiting his pulmonary complaint, but the venture was unsuccessful. The above extracts are the only ones of prime importance in the journal in relation to George Washington.

[43]Lawrence Washington's health did not improve and Bermuda was suggested as possessing certain climatic advantages. It was arranged that George should return to Virginia; that Lawrence should go to Bermuda, and, after a time, if his health improved, George would bring Mrs. Lawrence Washington out to him. The experiment failed; Lawrence's health did not improve, and George did not return to Bermuda. Lawrence's strength gradually failed; he returned to Virginia from Bermuda in 1752, and died at Mount Vernon on July 26 of that year.

[44]Gov. Robert Dinwiddie.

To WILLIAM FAUNTLEROY, SR.

May 20, 1752.

Sir: I should have been down long before this, but my business in Frederick detained me somewhat longer than I expected, and immediately upon my return from thence I was taken with a violent pleurise, which has reduced me very low; but purpose, as soon as I recover my strength, to wait on Miss Betsy,[45] in hopes of a revocation of the former cruel sentence, and see if I can meet with any alteration in my favor. I have enclosed a letter to her, which should be much obliged to you for the delivery of it. It have nothing to add but my best respects to your good lady and family.

*JOURNEY TO THE FRENCH COMMANDANT,[46] 1753

Wednesday, October 31, 1753.

I was commissioned and appointed by the Honourable *Robert Dinwiddie,* Esq; Governor, &c., of *Virginia,* to visit

[45] Text is from Paul Leicester Ford's *True George Washington.* William Fauntleroy, sr., was the son of Moore Fauntleroy and the grandfather of Miss Betsy. Ford points out the absurdity of the idea that she was the "Lowland Beauty" referred to by Washington four years before this letter was written. In 1752 Washington was 20 years old and Betsy 15. In November of that year Washington was appointed adjutant for the southern district of Virginia, which included the counties of Princess Anne, Norfolk, Nansemond, Isle of Wight, Southampton, Surry, Brunswick, Prince George, Dinwiddie, Chesterfield, Amelia, and Cumberland. In February, 1753, Washington asked to be transferred to the adjutancy of the Northern Neck and Eastern Shore, which included Westmoreland, King George, Stafford, Fairfax, Prince William, and others. This request was granted in November of that year.

[46] Dinwiddie acted in this matter on instructions sent the Colonial governors by Lord Haldernesse (August 28) to warn the French that encroachment on the Ohio lands, claimed by the British, would not be permitted. The Virginia governor was the first to move in the matter. Dinwiddie's commission to Washington, his instructions and passport were printed by Sparks (vol. 2, Appendix, pp. 328, 329). On Washington's return to Williamsburg (Jan. 16, 1754) he wrote out his report from the rough journal notes he made while on his journey. Dinwiddie immediately sent it to the printer, much to Washington's surprise, and this imprint, the original edition of the journal, printed in 1754 by William Hunter at Williamsburg, is extremely rare. An English edition was published by T. Jeffreys in London in 1754.

and deliver a letter to the Commandant of the *French* forces on the Ohio, and set out on the intended Journey the same day: The next, I arrived at *Fredericksburg,* and engaged Mr. *Jacob Vanbraam,*[47] to be my *French* interpreter; and proceeded with him to *Alexandria,* where we provided Necessaries. From thence we went to *Winchester,* and got Baggage, Horses, &c; and from thence we pursued the new Road to *Wills-Creek,*[48] where we arrived the 14th of *November.*

Here I engaged Mr. *Gist*[49] to pilot us out, and also hired four others as Servitors, *Barnaby Currin* and *John Mac-Quire,* Indian Traders, *Henry Steward,* and *William Jenkins;* and in company with those persons, left the Inhabitants the Day following.

The excessive Rains and vast Quantity of Snow.

* * * * *

November 22, 1753.

As I got down before the Canoe, I spent some time in viewing the Rivers, and the Land in the Fork;[50] which I think extremely well situated for a Fort, as it has the absolute Command of both Rivers. The Land at the Point is 20 or 25 Feet above the common Surface of the Water; and a considerable Bottom of flat, well-timbered land all around it, very convenient for Building: The Rivers are each a Quarter of a Mile, or more, across, and run here very near at right Angles: *Aligany* bearing N. E. and *Monongahela* S. E. The former of these two is a very rapid and swift running Water; the other deep and still, without any perceptible Fall.

[47] Van Braam was a Hollander, and had served under Lawrence Washington in the Carthagena expedition. He had been fencing master to Washington.

[48] Now Cumberland, Md.

[49] Christopher Gist. His journal, which varies in particulars from Washington's, will be found in the *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society,* Series 3, vol 5, p. 102.

[50] Junction of the Monongahela and Allegheny Rivers, the present site of Pittsburgh.

About two Miles from this, on the South East Side of the river, at the Place where the *Ohio* Company intended to erect a Fort, lives *Shingiss,*[51] king of the *Delawares:* We called upon him, to invite him to Council at the *Loggs*-Town.[52]

As I had taken a good deal of Notice Yesterday of the Situation at the *Forks,* my Curiosity led me to examine this more particularly, and I think it greatly inferior, either for Defence or Advantages; especially the latter: For a Fort at the *Forks* would be equally well situated on the *Ohio,* and have the entire command of the *Monongahela;* which runs up to our Settlements and is extremely well designed for Water Carriage, as it is of a deep still Nature. Besides a fort at the *Fork* might be built at a much less Expence, than at the other Place.

Nature has well contrived this lower Place, for Water Defence; but the Hill whereon it must stand being about a Quarter of a Mile in Length, and then descending gradually on the Land Side, will render it difficult and very expensive, to make a sufficient Fortification there.—The whole Flat upon the Hill must be taken-in, the Side next the Descent made extremely high, or else the Hill itself cut away: Otherwise, the Enemy may raise Batteries within that Distance without being exposed to a single Shot from the Fort.

* * * * *

SPEECH TO INDIANS AT LOGSTOWN[53]

November 26, 1753.

We met in Council at the *Long-House,* about 9 o'clock, where I spoke to them as follows:

[51] Shingiss, at first a friend of the English, but later joined with the French. The *Pennsylvania Gazette* of Jan. 15, 1756, carried an advertised reward for his head.

[52] Logstown, supposed to have been on Big Beaver Creek, Pa., 17 miles below the forks of the Ohio. It was built by the French as a trading post for the Indians. Its name describes it.

[53] This speech was delivered by Washington to the Half King and intended for the Six Nations through him. The Long House was the usual name of the largest cabin or wigwam of the Six Nations. It was the council house and there appear to have been several so called in different parts of the country of the Six Nations.

Brothers, I have called you together in Council by order of your Brother, the Governor of *Virginia,* to acquaint you, that I am sent, with all possible Dispatch, to visit, and deliver a Letter to the *French* Commandant, of very great Importance to your Brothers, the *English;* and I dare say, to you their Friends and Allies.

I was desired, Brothers, by your Brother the Governor, to call upon you, the Sachems of the Nations, to inform you of it, and to ask your Advice and Assistance to proceed to the nearest and best Road to the *French.* You see, Brothers, I have gotten thus far on my Journey.

His Honour likewise desired me to apply to you for some of your young Men, to conduct and provide Provisions for us on our Way; and be a safe-guard against those *French Indians* who have taken up the hatchet against us. I have spoken thus particularly to you Brothers, because his Honour our Governor treats you as good Friends and Allies; and holds you in great Esteem. To confirm what I have said, I give you this String of Wampum.[54]

December 4, 1753.

This is an old *Indian* Town,[55] situated at the Mouth of *French* Creek on *Ohio;* and lies near N. about 60 Miles from the *Loggs*-Town, but more than 70 the Way we were obliged to go.

We found the *French* Colours hoisted at a House from which they had driven Mr. *John Frazier,* an *English* Subject. I immediately repaired to it, to know where the Commander resided. There were three Officers, one of whom, Capt. *Joncaire,* informed me, that he had the Command of the *Ohio:* But that there was a General Officer at the near Fort, where he

[54] Wampum was a certain kind of shell, comparatively rare, which had been given a ceremonial value by the Indians; it was used in making treaty belts and for personal decoration. After the coming of the white man it seems to have taken on a monetary value. Its use appears to have been more extensive among the Algonquin Tribes than any others, and it does not appear to have been known to the western or plains Indians.

[55] Venango; the French name of this place was Chiningue. The exact location is a matter of doubt. Croghan places it on the south side of the river, or left hand in descending. It is represented on the map in *Father Abraham's Almanac* (1761). There was another Chiningue (the Shenango of the English) on the Allegheny.—*Ford.*

advised me to apply for an Answer. He invited us to sup with them; and treated us with the greatest Complaisance.

The Wine, as they dosed themselves pretty plentifully with it, soon banished the Restraint which at first appeared in their Conversation; and gave a Licence to their Tongues to reveal their Sentiments more freely.

They told me, That it was their absolute Design to take possession of the *Ohio,* and by G—— they would do it: For that altho' they were sensible the *English* could raise two Men for their one; yet they knew their Motions were too slow and dilatory to prevent any Undertaking of theirs. They pretend to have an undoubted Right to the River, from a Discovery made by one *La Salle* 60 Years ago; and the Rise of this Expedition is, to prevent our settling on the River or Waters of it, as they had heard of some Families moving-out in Order thereto.

* * * * *

December 11, 1753.

At 11 o'Clock we set out for the Fort, and were prevented from arriving there till the 11th by excessive Rains, Snows, and bad Travelling, through many Mires and Swamps.[56] These we were obliged to pass, to avoid crossing the Creek, which was impossible, either by fording or rafting, the Water was so high and rapid.

* * * * *

December 12, 1753.

I prepared early to wait upon the Commander, and was received and conducted to him by the second Officer in Command. I acquainted him with my Business, and offered my Commission and Letter: Both of which he desired me to keep till the Arrival of Monsieur *Riparti* Captain, at the next Fort, who was sent for and expected every Hour.

[56] Gist's diary is more definite as to the route.

This Commander is a Knight of the military Order of St. *Lewis,* and named *Legardeur de St. Pierre.*[57] He is an elderly Gentleman, and has much the Air of a Soldier. He was sent over to take the Command immediately upon the Death of the late General, and arrived here about seven Days before me.

At 2 o'Clock the Gentleman who was sent for arrived, when I offered the Letter, &c, again; which they received, and adjourned into a private Apartment for the Captain to translate, who understood a little *English.* After he had done it, the Commander desired I would walk-in, and bring my Interpreter to peruse and correct it; which I did.

13th. The chief Officers retired, to hold a Council of War; which gave me an Opportunity of taking the Dimensions of the Fort, and making what Observations I could.

* * * * *

December 15, 1753.

The Commandant ordered a plentiful Store of Liquor, Provision, &c., to be put on Board our Canoe; and appeared to be extremely complaisant, though he was exerting every Artifice which he could invent to set our own *Indians* at Variance with us, to prevent their going 'till after our Departure. Presents, Rewards, and every Thing which could be suggested by him or his Officers.—I can't say that ever in my Life I suffered so much Anxiety as I did in this Affair:

* * * * *

December 16, 1753.

We had a tedious and very fatiguing Passage down the Creek. Several Times we had like to have been staved against Rocks; and many Times were obliged all Hands to get out and

[57] Legardeur de St. Pierre had just returned from an expedition toward the west when he was sent to succeed the dying Marin. He afterwards served under Dieskau and was killed in the "bloody morning scout" just before the Battle of Lake George (1775). His full name was Legardeur de St. Pierre de Repentigny, the last probably being the Riparti just mentioned.—*J. G. Shea.*

remain in the Water Half an Hour or more, getting over the Shoals. At one Place the Ice had lodged and made it impassable by Water; therefore we were obliged to carry our Canoe across a Neck of Land, a quarter of a Mile over. We did not reach *Venango,* till the 22d, where we met with our Horses.

* * * * *

December 23, 1753.

Our Horses were now so weak and feeble, and the Baggage so heavy (as we were obliged to provide all the Necessaries which the Journey would require) that we doubted much their performing it; therefore myself and others (except the Drivers, who were obliged to ride) gave up our Horses for Packs, to assist along with the Baggage. I put myself in an *Indian* walking Dress,[58] and continued with them three Days, till I found there was no Probability of their getting home in any reasonable Time. The Horses grew less able to travel every Day; the Cold increased very fast; and the Roads were becoming much worse by a deep Snow, continually freezing: Therefore as I was uneasy to get back, to make Report of my Proceedings to his Honour, the Governor, I determined to prosecute my Journey the nearest Way through the Woods, on Foot.

Accordingly I left Mr. Vanbraam in Charge of our Baggage: with Money and Directions to Provide Necessaries from Place to Place for themselves and Horses, and to make the most convenient Dispatch in Travelling.

I took my necessary Papers; pulled off my Cloaths; and tied myself up in a Match Coat.[59] Then with Gun in Hand and

[58] Hip-length leggings of skin and a knee-length coat, belted at the waist, after the style of what became known as the "hunting shirt" during the Revolution.

[59] So called because made of skins that were matched in putting them together. There was a coarse woolen cloth, known as "match cloth," which was used by the English in imitation of the Indian skin coat. It is, of course, impossible to say whether Washington's coat was of skins or cloth.

Pack at my Back, in which were my Papers and Provisions, I set-out with Mr. *Gist,*[60] fitted in the same Manner, on *Wednesday* the 26th.

The Day following, just after we had passed a Place called the *Murdering*-Town[61] (where we intended to quit the Path, and steer across the Country for *Shannapins* Town) we fell in with a Party of *French* Indians, who had lain in Wait for us. One of them fired at Mr. *Gist* or me, not 15 steps off, but fortunately missed. We took this Fellow into Custody, and kept him till about 9 o'clock at Night;[62] Then let him go, and walked all the remaining Part of the Night without making any Stop; that we might get the Start, so far, as to be out of the Reach of their Pursuit the next Day, since we were well assured they would follow our Tract as soon as it was light. The next Day we continued travelling till quite dark, and got to the River about two Miles above *Shannapins.* We expected to have found the River frozen, but it was not, only about 50 Yards from each Shore; The Ice I suppose had broken up above, for it was driving in vast Quantities.

There was no Way for getting over but on a Raft; Which we set about with but one poor Hatchet, and finished just after Sun-setting. This was a whole Day's Work. Then set off; But before we were Half Way over, we were jammed in the Ice, in such a Manner that we expected every Moment our Raft to sink, and ourselves to perish. I put-out my setting Pole to try to stop the Raft, that the Ice might pass by; when the Rapidity

[60] Gist says (December 26) that "I was unwilling he [Washington] should undertake such a travel, who had never been used to walking before this time." They traveled 18 miles the first day.

[61] Murthering Town, on the southeastern fork of Beaver Creek. Gist mentions meeting but one Indian and his account of the attempted murder places the occurrence much later in the day and under different circumstances than those so casually mentioned by Washington. Washington and Gist reached Piney Creek at the end of their all-night march.

[62] Gist's account describes this affair differently.

of the Stream threw it with so much Violence against the Pole, that it jerked me out into ten Feet Water: but I fortunately saved myself by catching hold of one of the Raft Logs. Notwithstanding all our Efforts we could not get the Raft to either Shore; but were obliged, as we were near an Island, to quit our Raft and make to it.

The Cold was so extremely severe, that Mr. *Gist* had all his Fingers, and some of his Toes frozen; but the water was shut up so hard, that we found no Difficulty in getting-off the Island, on the Ice, in the Morning, and went to Mr. *Frazier's*.[63]

* * * * *

January 1, 1754.

Tuesday the 1st Day of January, we left Mr. *Frazier's* House, and arrived at Mr. *Gist's* at *Monongahela* the 2d, where I bought a Horse, Saddle, etc: the 6th we met 17 Horses loaded with Materials and Stores, for a Fort at the Forks of *Ohio,* and the Day after some Families going out to settle: This Day we arrived at *Wills* Creek, after as fatiguing a Journey as it is possible to conceive, rendered so by excessive bad Weather. From the first Day of December to the 15th, there was but one Day on which it did not rain or snow incessantly: and throughout the whole Journey we met with nothing but one continued Series of cold wet Weather, which occasioned very uncomfortable Lodgings: especially after we had quitted our Tent, which was some Screen from the Inclemency of it.

On the 11th I got to Belvoir: where I stopped one Day to take necessary Rest; and then set out and arrived at Williamsburgh the 16th; when I waited upon his Honour the Governor with the Letter I had brought from the French Commandant; and to give an Account of the Success of my Proceedings.

* * * * *

[63] John Frazier.

Map Made by Washington to Accompany His Report to Dinwiddie of His Journey to the French Commandant

*MEMORANDUM[64]

[January 17, 1754.]

The French are now coming from their Forts on Lake Erie and on the Creek[65] to Venango[66] to Erect another Fort. And from thence they design to the Forks of Monongehele and to the Logs Town, and so to continue down the River building at the most convenient places in order to prevent our Settlements &ca.

N. B. A Little below Shanapins Town[67] in the Fork[68] is the place where we are going immediately to Build a Fort as it commands the Ohio and Monongehele.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, March 9, 1754.

Honble. Sir: In my last by Mr. Stuart, I slightly mentioned the objection many had against Enlisting (to wit) not knowing who was to be pay Master or the times for payment: It is now grown a pretty general Clamour, and some of those, who were amongst the first Enlisters, being needy, and knowing it to be usual for His Majesty's Soldiers to be paid once a Week, or at most every Fortnight, are very importunate to receive their Due: I have soothed and quieted them as much as possible, under pretence of receiving your Honour's Instructions in this particular at the arrival of the Colonel.

[64] This inscription was placed upon the map which Washington drew and presented to Governor Dinwiddie with his manuscript transcription of his journal of his journey to the French commandant at Fort Le Bœuf. The original map is in the Public Record Office, London. It was found by Worthington C. Ford and reproduced in the *Massachusetts Historical Society Proceedings* (1927–28), vol. 61, p. 71, from which the accompanying illustration is made.

[65] French Creek, Pa.

[66] Venango, an Indian town at the junction of French Creek and Allegheny River.

[67] Shanapins, a Six Nations town, just above Fort Duquesne on the Allegheny River.

[68] Where Capt. William Trent started an English fort, which the French captured, completed, and named Fort Duquesne. Afterwards it became Fort Pitt and Pittsburgh.

I have increased my number of Men to abt. 25, and dare venture to say, I should have had several more, if the excessive bad weather did not prevent their meeting agreeable to their Officer's Commands.

We daily Experience the great necessity for Cloathing the Men, as we find the generality of those, who are to be Enlisted, are of those loose, Idle Persons, that are quite destitute of House, and Home, and, I may truly say, many of them of Cloaths; which last, renders them very incapable of the necessary Service, as they must unavoidably be expos'd to inclement weather in their Marches, &c., and can expect no other, than to encounter almost every difficulty, that's incident to a Soldier's Life. There is many of them without Shoes, others want Stockings, some are without Shirts, and not a few that have Scarce a Coat, or Waistcoat to their Backs; In short, they are as illy provided as can well be conceiv'd, but I really believe every Man of them, for their own Credits sake, is willing to be Cloathed at their own Expense. They are perpetually teazing me to have it done, but I am not able to advance the money provided there was no risque in it, which there certainly is, and too great for me to run; tho' it would be nothing to the Country, as a certain part of their pay might be deducted and appropriated to that use: Mr. Carlyle,[69] or any of the merchants here, would furnish them with proper necessarys, if there was a certainty of any part of their pay stopt to reimburse the Expense. But I must here in time put a kirb to my requests, and remember that I ought not to be too importunate; otherwise I shall be as troublesome to your Honour, as the Soldiers are to me: there is nothing but the necessity of the thing could urge me to be thus free, but I shall no more exagerate this affair to your

[69] John Carlyle.

Honour, as I am well assured, whatever you think for the Benefit or good of the Expedition, you will cause to have done.[70]

[V.H.S.]

*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX[71]

Alexandria, [March] 22, 1754.

Dr. Sir: I wrote to you in Frederick not knowing your Intention of going to Stafford, desiring that all your Men &c. might be in readiness to march by the middle or last of next week at furthest for Ohio: I have just receiv'd the Governor's Orders (which was sent upon the arrival of Captn Trent's[72] express) to dispatch with all expedition thither, with the men already raiz'd and such Officers as I see proper: therefore, I shall do

[70] Ford dates this letter March 7, but the original is plainly March 9.

[71] Hon. William Fairfax was the son of Henry Fairfax, of Yorkshire, England, and grandson of Thomas, the fourth Lord Fairfax. His father died when he was young, and he was educated under the care of his uncle, Lord Lonsdale. At the age of 21 he entered the army, and served in Spain. He went also to the East Indies, and after his return engaged in the expedition against Providence Island, at that time in possession of the pirates. He was appointed governor of the island, after its reduction, and married, in the year 1724, the daughter of Thomas Walker, a major in the army, who had accompanied the expedition, and received the appointment of chief justice of the Bahama Islands. The climate not agreeing with the health of Mr. Fairfax, he removed to New England, where he resided, holding an office of considerable trust and emolument, till he was desired by his kinsman, Lord Fairfax, to remove to Virginia and become the agent for managing his large tract of lands in that colony. His first residence was in Westmoreland County, where he remained several years; but he afterwards established himself at Belvoir, on the Potomac River, a little below Mount Vernon. He died at that place on Sept. 3, 1757. He was a gentleman of great worth and respectability, held the offices of lieutenant of the county of Fairfax, and collector of the customs of South Potomac, and was one of the King's Council in Virginia, which last station he retained many years, and was for a considerable time president of the council. From him have descended the various branches of the Fairfax family in Virginia. By his second wife, Sarah Walker, he had four children, George William, Thomas, Anne, and Sarah; by his third wife, Deborah Clarke, of Salem, Mass., he had three children, Bryan, William, and Hannah. Hon. William Fairfax was an early, constant, and valued friend to Washington, and it was, doubtless, chiefly through his influence with the governor and council that Washington obtained his appointment as one of the adjutants of Virginia and his commissions in the Virginia forces.—*Sparks.*

[72] Capt. William Trent, of Pennsylvania, in the employ of Governor Dinwiddie. His fears, disclosed by this express, of an attack by the French were amply justified a little later.

myself the Honour of calling upon you for one; I expect several others up this Day, together with three Sloops from York James River, and Eastern Shore with recruits; those who cannot be in readiness to go, are to stay and march with Coln. Frye[73] who is to bring out the remainder of the Men, Artillery &c. I shou'd be glad you wou'd repair to Alexandria imediately upon the receipt of this in your way to Winchester that we may consult on proper Means.

P. S. I suppose you have read or heard of the Governor's command requiring all officers to be and appear at Alexandria the 20th inst. [N.Y.P.L.]

To RICHARD CORBIN

March, 1754.

Dear Sir: In a conversation with you at Green Spring, you gave me some room to hope for a commission above that of major, and to be ranked among the chief officers of this expedition. The command of the whole forces is what I neither look for, expect, nor desire; for I must be impartial enough to confess, it is a charge too great for my youth and inexperience to be entrusted with. Knowing this, I have too sincere a love for my country, to undertake that which may tend to the prejudice of it. But if I could entertain hopes, that you thought me worthy of the post of lieutenant-colonel, and would favor me so far as to mention it at the appointment of officers, I could not but entertain a true sense of the kindness.

I flatter myself, that, under a skilful commander, or man of sense, (whom I most sincerely wish to serve under,) with my own application and diligent study of my duty, I shall be able

[73] Col. Joshua Fry. He had been put in command of this expedition by Governor Dinwiddie, with instructions to build forts and hold the Ohio country against the French. He died May 31 from an accidental fall from his horse, and the actual management of the expedition devolved upon Washington.

to conduct my steps without censure, and, in time, render myself worthy of the promotion, that I shall be favored with now. I am, &c.[74]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, March 20, 1754.

Sir: I was favored with your letter by Mr. Stewart, enclosing a lieutenant-colonel's commission, and I hope my future behaviour will sufficiently testify the true sense I have of this kindness.

At present there are about seventy-five men at Alexandria, near fifty of whom I have enlisted.[75] The others have been sent by Messrs. Polson,[76] Mercer,[77] and Waggener[78] to this place. Very few officers have repaired hither yet, which has occasioned a fatiguing time to me, in managing a number of self-willed, ungovernable people. I shall implicitly obey your commands, and march out with all expedition. Major Carlyle[79] is now preparing wagons for the conveyance of provisions, which till now could not move, on account of the heavy roads.

I doubt not but your Honor has been informed before this of Mr. Vanbraam's[80] ill success in Augusta, by the express, who was sent from thence for that purpose.

[74] Ford assigns this letter to an early day in March on account of Governor Dinwiddie's statement that on March 1 he had appointed Colonel Fry to command the expedition. Richard Corbin, of Laneville, King and Queen County, Ford notes as the member of the governor's council, and refers to Marshall's *The Life of George Washington,* Second Edition, vol. 1, p. 3. Green Spring was below Williamsburg, on the James River. Ford also quotes Corbin's reply to this letter: "Dear George: I enclose you your commission. God prosper you with it. Your friend, Richard Corbin."

[75] To encourage enlistments, Dinwiddie issued a proclamation granting 200,000 acres of land on the Ohio to be divided among officers and men who served in this expedition.

[76] Ensign William Polson.

[77] Lieut. John Mercer.

[78] Lieut. Thomas Waggener.

[79] Maj. John Carlyle.

[80] Jacob Van Braam had been sent to Augusta County to receive the 50 recruits expected to be enlisted by Colonel Patten, the county lieutenant.—*Ford.*

Major Muse's[81] promotion, and Messrs. Rose and Bently's declining, will occasion a want of officers; in which case I would beg leave to mention Mr. Vanbraam for a command, who is the oldest lieutenant, and an experienced soldier. Unless the officers come in, I shall be obliged to appoint him to that office, till I have your Honor's further directions. It would be conferring a very great obligation on him, were you to confirm the appointment. I verily believe his behaviour would not render him displeasing to you. I have given Captain Stephen[82] orders to be in readiness to join us at Winchester with his company, as they were already in that neighbourhood, and raised there.

I have nothing further to add at present, but my sincere thanks for the indulgent favors I have met with, and I am &c.[83]

JOURNAL OF MARCH TOWARD THE OHIO, 1754[84]

March 31, 1754.

On the 31st *March,* I received from his Honour a Lieutenant Colonel's Commission in the Virginia Regiment, whereof Joshua Fry,[85] Esquire, was Colonel, dated the 15th, with Orders to take the troops, which were at that time quartered at

[81] George Muse, a North Carolina major, later a lieutenant colonel and one of the four district adjutants of Virginia.

[82] Adam Stephen.

[83] Text is from the *Dinwiddie Papers.*

[84] The original notes and memoranda, made by Washington on his march toward the Ohio, were captured by the French at Fort Necessity. They were sent to Paris, translated, and a year later (1756) published by the French Government in such form as would argue the justice of the French seizure of the Ohio region. The publication appeared under the title *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits.* The French publication was quickly translated back into English and republished in London; it was brought to America and an edition issued by Hugh Gaine, New York (1757). Washington wrote of this publication:

"I am really sorry, that I have it not in my power to answer your request in a more satisfactory manner. If you had favored me with the journal a few days sooner, I would have examined it carefully, and endeavored to point out such errors as might

Alexandria under my command, and to march with them towards the Ohio, there to aid Captain *Trent*[86] in building Forts,

conduce to your use, my advantage, and the public satisfaction; but now it is out of my power.

"I had no time to make any remarks upon that piece, which is called my journal. The enclosed are observations on the French notes. They are of no use to me separated, nor will they, I believe, be of any to you; yet I send them unconnected and incoherent as they were taken, for I have no opportunity to correct them.

"In regard to the journal, I can only observe in general, that I kept no regular one during that expedition; rough minutes of occurrences I certainly took, and find them as certainly and strangely metamorphosed; some parts left out, which I remember were entered, and many things added that never were thought of; the names of men and things egregiously miscalled; and the whole of what I saw Englished is very incorrect and nonsensical; yet, I will not pretend to say that the little body, who brought it to me, has not made a literal translation, and a good one.

"Short as my time is, I cannot help remarking on Villiers' account of the battle of, and transactions at, the Meadows, as it is very extraordinary, and not less erroneous than inconsistent. He says the French received the first fire. It is well known, that we received it at six hundred paces' distance. He also says, our fears obliged us to retreat in a most disorderly manner after the capitulation. How is this consistent with his other account? He acknowledges, that we sustained the attack warmly from ten in the morning until dark, and that he called first to parley, which strongly indicates that we were not totally absorbed in fear. If the gentleman in his account had adhered to the truth, he must have confessed, that we looked upon his offer to parley as an artifice to get into and examine our trenches, and refused on this account, until they desired an officer might be sent to them, and gave their parole for his safe return. He might also, if he had been as great a lover of the truth as he was of vainglory, have said, that we absolutely refused their first and second proposals, and would consent to capitulate on no other terms than such as we obtained. That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word assassination, I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the death, or the loss, of Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortication we found it otherwise in a literal translataion.

"That we left our baggage and horses at the Meadows is certain; that there was not even a possibility to bring them away is equally certain, as we had every horse belonging to the camp killed or taken away during the action; so that it was impracticable to bring any thing off, that our shoulders were not able to bear; and to wait there was impossible, for we had scarce three days' provisions, and were seventy miles from a supply; yet, to say we came off precipitately is absolutely false; notwithstanding they did, contrary to articles, suffer their Indians to pillage our baggage, and commit all kinds of irregularity, we were with them until ten o'clock the next day; we destroyed our powder and other stores, nay, even our private baggage, to prevent its falling into their hands, as we could not bring it off."

Sparks prints this letter in his appendix to volume 2, of the *Writings of Washington,* but gives no date or other identification. It has not, since, been found. Rupert Hughes's *George Washington* (vol. 1) facsimiles the title-page of the French publication and the last page of the articles of capitulation at Fort Necessity, printed therein.

[85] Colonel Fry's instructions were "to be on the defensive, but if opposed by the enemy to desire them to retire; if they should still persist, to repel force by force."—*Dinwiddie to Governor Hamilton,* Apr. 27, 1754.

[86] Capt. William Trent, a Pennsylvanian, in the employ of Virginia.

and in defending the possessions of his Majesty against the attempts and hostilities of the *French.*[87]

* * * * *

April the 2d. Every Thing being ready, we began our march[88] according to our Orders, the 2d of *April,* with two Companies of Foot, commanded by Captain *Peter Hog,*[89] and Lieutenant *Jacob Vanbraam,*[90] five subalterns, two Sergeants, six Corporals, one Drummer, and one hundred and twenty soldiers, one Surgeon,[91] one *Swedish* Gentleman,[92] who was a volunteer, two wagons, guarded by one Lieutenant, Sergeant, Corporal and twenty-five Soldiers.

We left Alexandria on Tuesday noon and pitched our tents about four miles from Cameron,[93] having marched six miles.

* * * * *

SPEECH TO THE INDIANS AT WILLS CREEK[94]

April 23, 1754.

To the Half-King,[95] and the Chiefs and Warriors of the Shawanese and Loups our Friends and Brethren. I received your speech by Brother Bucks who came to us with the two young men six days after their departure from you. We return

[87] Washington's instructions are in the *Dinwiddie Papers* (Virginia Historical Society), vol. 1, p. 59.

[88] The march is indicated by Washington's expense account, submitted after the surrender at Fort Necessity, July 3, 1754. As well as may be made out from this document, the route was from Alexandria, through Loudoun County, crossing the Blue Ridge at Vestals Gap, the Shenandoah at John Vestals Ferry, and thence to Winchester; from Winchester to Edwards Fort, on the South Branch of Great Cacapehon Creek; from Edwards to Pearsalls, on the South Branch of the Potomac; across that river at Cresaps, and thence up to Wills Creek. Washington's expense account was made up from recollection, "having lost all my papers in ye engagement," i. e., Fort Necessity.

[89] Capt. Peter Hog (or Hogg). He later was appointed by Lord Dunmore deputy attorney general of Dunmore, now Shenandoah County, Va.

[90] The same Van Braam who had accompanied Washington to Fort Le Bœuf the preceding year. The responsibility for allowing Washington to sign the capitulation of Fort Necessity, while it contained the acknowledgment of having murdered Jumonville, is placed upon Van Braam. His carelessness in translating allowed the phrase "dans l'assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville" to pass unnoticed.

[91] Dr. James Craik.

[92] Carolus Gustavus de Spiltdorph. He later became a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment and was killed at the Monongahela.—*Toner.*

you our greatest thanks and our hearts burn with love and affection towards you, in gratitude for your steadfast attachment to us, as also your friendly speech, and your wise counsels. This young man will inform you where he found a small part of our army, making towards you, clearing the roads for a great number of our warriors, who are ready to follow us, with our great guns, our ammunition and provisions. I cannot delay letting you know the thoughts of our hearts, I send you back this young man, with this speech, to acquaint you therewith, and the other young man I have sent to the Governor of Virginia, to deliver him your speech and your wampum, and to be an eyewitness of the preparations we are making, to come in all haste to assist you, whose interest is as dear to us as our lives. We know the character of the treacherous French, and our conduct shall plainly show you how much we have it at heart. I shall not be satisfied if I do not see you before all our forces are met together at the Fort which is in our way, wherefore, I desire with the greatest earnestness, that you and Scruneyattha, or one of you, should come as soon as possible to meet us on the road, and to assist us in council. To assure you of the sincerity of my speech, and of the good will we bear you, I present you with these strings of wampum, that you may remember how much I am your Friend and Brother. Signed Go Washington Conotocarious[96]

[93] Cameron, at the head of Hunting Creek. An ordinary, or inn, was there, and it became the general meeting place of militia musters and other gatherings. A race track was one of its attractions.

[94] This and the four following speeches are taken from the French publication of Washington's journal of March-April, 1754, *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits* (1756), which is printed by Ford, and also in the *The Diaries of George Washington* (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association of the Union, 1925).

[95] The Half King was Tanacharisson, a Seneca chief, called "Half King" because of the allegiance he owed to the Six Nations. He was with Washington at the Jumonville fight and seems to have died in October, 1754.

[96] This was the name the Indians had given to Washington. It had been bestowed by them on his great-grandfather, John Washington, the emigrant, who had been, as George was, a colonel of Virginia militia. It meant "devourer of villages." George fell heir to the title when he first became known to the Indians.

To GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Will's Creek, April 25, 1754.

Sir: Captain Trent's[97] ensign, Mr. Ward,[98] has this day arrived from the Fork of the Monongahela, and brings the disagreeable account, that the fort, on the 17th instant, was surrendered at the summons of Monsieur Contrecœur to a body of French, consisting of upwards of one thousand men, who came from Venango with eighteen pieces of cannon, sixty batteaux, and three hundred canoes. They gave him liberty to bring off all his men and working-tools, which he accordingly did the same day.

Immediately upon this information I called a council of war, to advise on proper measures to be taken in this exigency. A copy of their resolves, with the proceedings, I herewith enclose by the bearer, whom I have continued express to your Honor for more minute intelligence.

Mr. Ward has the summons with him, and a speech from the Half-King, which I also enclose, with the wampum. He is accompanied by one of the Indians mentioned therein, who were sent to see where we were, what was our strength, and to know the time to expect us out. The other young man I have prevailed upon to return to the Half-King with the following speech.[99]

I hope my proceedings in these affairs will be satisfactory to your Honor, as I have, to the utmost of my knowledge, consulted the interest of the expedition and good of my country; whose rights, while they are asserted in so just a cause, I will defend to the last remains of life.

Hitherto the difficulties I have met with in marching have been greater, than I expect to encounter on the Ohio, when

[97] Capt. William Trent.
[98] Ensign Edward Ward.
[99] The speech of April 23, *ante*.

possibly I may be surrounded by the enemy, and these difficulties have been occasioned by those, who, had they acted as becomes every good subject, would have exerted their utmost abilities to forward our just designs. Out of seventy-four wagons impressed at Winchester, we got but ten after waiting a week, and some of those so badly provided with teams, that the soldiers were obliged to assist them up the hills, although it was known they had better teams at home. I doubt not that in some points I may have strained the law; but I hope, as my sole motive was to expedite the march, I shall be supported in it, should my authority be questioned, which at present I do not apprehend, unless some busybody intermeddles.[1]

Your Honor will see by the resolves in council, that I am destined to the Monongahela with all the diligent despatch in my power. We will endeavour to make the road sufficiently good for the heaviest artillery to pass, and when we arrive at Red-stone Creek, fortify ourselves as strongly as the short time will allow. I doubt not that we can maintain a possession there, till we are reinforced, unless the rising of the waters shall admit the enemy's cannon to be conveyed up in canoes, and then I flatter myself we shall not be so destitute of intelligence, as not to get timely notice of it, and make a good retreat.

I hope you will see the absolute necessity for our having, as soon as our forces are collected, a number of cannon, some of

[1]By the militia law of Virginia the commander could impress provisions, boats, wagons, draft horses, utensils, tools, and the like, necessary to facilitate military movements and operations. But no article could be impressed till its value had been appraised and an estimate of the proper allowance for its daily use had been made by two reputable persons under oath. A receipt for the same was then to be given in writing to the owner by the commanding officer. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 6, p. 114.) Under the difficulties of the service mentioned in the text, it was doubtless not possible to comply literally in every instance with these formalities of the law. Although the troops now raised were volunteers, and enlisted for a special purpose, yet they were regulated in every respect by the militia laws of the colony. This was the cause of great inconvenience and embarrassment to Washington afterwards, particularly in regard to discipline, as the militia laws were ill suited to troops in active service.—*Sparks.*

heavy metal, with mortars and grenadoes to attack the French, and put us on an equal footing with them.

Perhaps it may also be thought advisable to invite the Cherokees, Catawbas, and Chickasaws to march to our assistance, as we are informed that six hundred Chippewas and Ottawas are marching down Scioto Creek to join the French, who are coming up the Ohio. In that case I would beg leave to recommend their being ordered to this place first, that a peace may be concluded between them and the Six Nations; for I am informed by several persons, that, as no good harmony subsists between them, their coming first to the Ohio may create great disorders, and turn out much to our disadvantage.

As I had opportunities I wrote to the governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania, acquainting them with these advices, and enclosed the summons and Indian speech, which I hope you will not think me too forward in doing. I considered that the Assembly of Maryland was to sit in five days, that the Pennsylvania Assembly is now sitting, and that, by giving timely notice, something might be done in favor of this expedition, which now requires all the force we can muster.[2]

[2]Governor Dinwiddie had likewise written to the governors of all the provinces, from New York to South Carolina, setting forth the alarming state of affairs in Virginia, and pressing for assistance. But nothing was done. Several of the governors brought the matter before their assemblies, with moving appeals to their patriotism and sympathy. The evil was too distant to be felt, and was little heeded. Pennsylvania and Maryland were more immediately concerned, as their frontiers were threatened. In both these colonies the assemblies passed money bills for general protection, but so clogged with what the governors called attacks upon the prerogative that they would not sign them. Governor Dinwiddie's official dignity was severely tried in the affair of the £10,000 granted by the Virginia Legislature. By the bill making the grant, a committee was appointed to act in concert with the governor in appropriating the money. In writing to the board of trade, he says: "I would by no means have given my assent to the bill, if his Majesty's service had not immediately called for a supply." He held that appropriating the money for the defense of the colony was vested wholly in the hands of the governor. He wrote at the same time to the Earl of Halifax: "I am sorry to find the House of Burgesses in a republican way of thinking; and, indeed, they do not act in a proper constitutional way, but make encroachments upon the prerogative of the crown, in which some former governors have submitted too much to them; and, I fear, without a very particular instruction, it will be difficult to bring them to order."—*Sparks.* (See the *Dinwiddie Papers,* March 12.)

By the best information I can get, I much doubt whether any of the Indians will be in to treat in May. Are the Indian women and children, if they settle amongst us, to be maintained at our expense? They will expect it.[3]

To HORATIO SHARPE

Wills Creek, April 27, 1754.

May it please your Excellency: It is with the greatest concern I acquaint you, that Mr. Ward,[4] ensign in Captain Trent's company, was obliged to surrender his small fortress in the Forks of Monongahela, at the summons of Captain Contrecœur,[5] commander of the French forces who fell down from Venango with a fleet of 360 canoes and battoes, conveying upwards of one thousand men, eighteen pieces of artillery, and large stores of provisions and other necessaries; Mr. Ward having but an inconsiderable number of men (not exceeding 30) and no cannon to make a proper defence was forced to give up the fort on the 17th instant. They suffered him to draw out his men, arms, and working tools, and gave leave that he might retreat to the inhabitants with them. I have heard of your excellency's great zeal for his majesty's service, and for all our interests on the present occasion; therefore I am persuaded you will take proper notice of the Indians' moving speech and think their unshaken fidelity worthy your consideration.

I have arrived thus far with a detachment of 159 men; col Fry with the remainder of the regiments and artillery is daily expected. In the mean time we shall advance slowly across the mountains, making the roads as we march, fit for the carriage [of] the great guns &c. and are designed to proceed as far as

[3] Text is from the *Dinwiddie Papers*.

[4] Edward Ward.

[5] After Contrecœur took possession of the partially built works, on April 17, he completed the fort and named it Duquesne.

the mouth of Red Stone Creek[6] which enters the Monogahela about 37 miles above the fort (the French have taken) from whence we have water carriage down the river; there is a store house built by the Ohio Company at the place, which for the present may serve as a receptacle for our ammunition and provisions.

Besides the French herein mentioned we have credible information that another party are coming up Ohio. We also have intelligence that 600 of the Chippoways and Ottoway Indians are marching down Scioto Creek to join them.

I ought first to have begged pardon of your excellency for this liberty of writing, as I am not happy enough to be ranked among those of your acquaintance. It was the glowing zeal I owe my country that influenced me to impart these advices and my inclination prompted me to do it to you as I know you are solicitous for the public weal and warm in this interesting cause; that should rouse from the lethargy we have fallen into, the heroick spirit of every free-born English man to attest the rights and privileges of our king (if we don't consult the benefit of ourselves) and resque from the invasions of a usurping enemy, our Majesty's property, his dignity, and land.

I hope sir, you will excuse the freeness of my expressions, they are the pure sentiments of the heart of him who is with all imaginable regard and due respect, Your Excellency's most obt. etc.

N. B. I herewith have inclosed for your Excellency's perusal a copy of the Summons from the French officers, and also the Indina's speech which was delivered to and brought by Mr. Ward.[7]

[6] Red Stone Creek empties into the Monongahela in Fayette County, Pa. The old Ohio Company erected a storehouse near the mouth of the creek and Col. James Burd built a fort there in 1758. It was indifferently called Red Stone and Burds Fort. The town of Brownsville is now on the site.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Little Meadows, May 9, 1754.

Honble Sir: I acquainted your Honour by Mr. Ward with the determination, which we prosecuted 4 Days after his Departure, as soon as Waggons arrived to Convey our Provisions. The want of proper Conveyances has much retarded this Expedition, and at this time unfortunately delay'd the Detachment I have the Honour to command. Even when we came to Wills's Ck., my disappointments were not less than before, for there I expected to have found a sufficient number of pack Horses provided by Captn. Trent, conformable to his Promise, Maj. Carlyles Letters and my own, (that I might prosecute my first intention with light, expeditions Marches) but inst'd of th't, there was none in readiness, nor any in expectation, that I could perceive, which reduced me to the necessity of wait'g till Waggons c'd be procur'd from the Branch,[8] (40 Miles distant). However, in the mean time, I detach'd a party of 60 Men to make and amend the Road, which party since the 25th of Ap'l, and the main body since the 1st Inst't, have been laboriously employ'd, and have got no further than these Meadows, ab't 20 Miles from the new Store,[9] where we have been two Days making a Bridge across, and not done yet.

The great difficulty and labour, that it requires to amend and alter the Roads, prevents our March'g above 2, 3, or 4 Miles

[7] From the *Baltimore Repository* (March, 1811), where the text was first printed. It was printed again in the *Magazine of American History* (1881). In both instances the date is given as April 24, and it is so dated by Ford, but Washington wrote a similar letter, under date of April 27, to Gov. James Hamilton, so it is more reasonable to assign that date to his letter to Sharpe. The letter to Governor Dinwiddie, reporting the same occurrences, is dated April 25. Washington's journal, published by the French, *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits*, mentions these letters under the entry for April 23, but the probability of a French error is strong. Washington's letter to Hamilton is printed by Sparks (vol. 2, p. 11).

[8] The South Branch of the Potomac River.

[9] The Ohio Company's post at Wills Creek, erected in 1752 on the Virginia side of the Potomac.

a Day, and I fear, (tho no diligence shall be neglected), we shall be detained some considerable time before it can be made good for the Carriage of the Artillery with Colo. Fry.

We Daily receive Intelligence from Ohio by one or other of the Traders, that are continually retreating to the Inhabitants with their Effects; they all concur, that the French are reinforced with 800 Men; and this day, by one Kalender, I received an acc't, which he sets forth as certain, that there is 600 at the Falls of Ohio, from whence they int'd to move up to the lower Shawno Town, at the mouth of Sciodo Ck. to Erect other Fortresses. He likewise says, that the forces at the Forks are Erect'g their works with their whole Force, and as he was coming met at Mr. Gist's new settlem't Monsieur La Force with 4 Sold'rs, who, under the specious pretence of hunting Deserters, were reconnoitring and discovering the Country. He also brings the agreeable news, that the Half King has receiv'd, and is much pleas'd with, the speech I sent them, and is now upon their March with 50 Men to meet us. The French down the River are sending presents and invitations to all the neighbouring Indians, and practising every means to influence them in their Interest.

We have heard nothing from the Catawbas, or any of the Southern Indians, tho' this is the time we mostly need their assistance. I have not above 160 Effective Men with me, since Captain Trent's have left us, who I discharg'd from this Detach't, and order'd them to wait your Honour's Com'ds at Captn Trent's for I found them rather injurious to the other Men, than Serviceable to the Exp'n, till they could be upon the same Establish't with us, and come under the rigor of the Martial Law. I am, &c. [V.H.S.]

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Gt. xing of Yaughyaughgane, May 18, 1754.

Honble. Sir: I receiv'd your Honour's favour by Mr. Ward, who arriv'd here last Night, just as two Indians from the Ohio Did.

Which Indians contradict the Report of the French having receiv'd reinforcements, tho' they agree that 800 Men are very shortly expected; those that are there, are busily imploy'd in Erecting the Fort, which they have removed to the point I recommended for the Countrys use, whose Walls they have now made two fathom thick, and have raised it Breast high.

They are daily sending Scouts out, some of which ab't 5 days ago was seen within 6 or 7 Miles of our Camp; but as I did not receive timely Notice of it, they have escap'd, unless they have fallen in with a party sent out ab't 8 days ago to Red Stone, to reconnoitre the country thereabouts, and to get Intelligence of the motions of the French.

It is imagin'd the Half King will be here in two or three Days, but to hurry him I have sent the Indian, that came up with Mr. Ward, with a short speech, acquainting him with my desire of his coming as expeditiously as possible, to receive the Speech which your Honour sent by Mr. Ward, and that Colo. Fry wrote me I was to deliver: when he arrives I will endeavour to send him on to meet your Honour at Winchester.

These Indians, and all the Traders that I have been able to get any information from, of late, agree that it is almost impracticable to open a Road, that a Waggon can pass from this to Red Stone C'k: but most of them assure me, that (except one place) Water Carriage may be had down this River, which

will be a most advantageous discovery if it proves so, as it will save 40 Miles Land carriage over almost impassable Roads and Mount's.

The Water is now so high, that we cannot possible cross over with our Men, which likewise secures us from any imediate Attacks of the Enemy: therefore I have Resolved to go down the River to this Fall, which is at the Turkey foot; to inform myself concerning the Nature and difficulty attending this Fall, in order thereto, I have provided a Canoe, and shall, with an Officer and 5 Men, set out upon this discovery to morrow Morning.

Captn. Trents Men, who by their refractory Behaviour obliged me to seperate them from the other Soldiers, has now left the new Store and dispers'd, contrary to my positive orders till they received your Honour's Commands.

As I shall have frequent communications with the Indians, which is of no Effect with' Wampum, I hope your Honour will order some to be sent; indeed, we ought to have Shirts, and many other things of this sort, which is always expected by every Indian that brings a Message, or good report. Also the Chiefs, who visit and converse in Council, look for it: if it would not be thought too bold in me, I would recommend some of the Treaty Goods being sent for that purpose with, or after Colo. Fry: This is the method the French pursue, and a trifle judiciously bestow'd, and in season, may turn to our advantage. If I find this River is navigable, I am convinced it cannot but be agreeable to y'r Honour building Canoes in order to convey our Artillery down; as the Roads to this place are made as good as it can be, having spent much time and great Labour upon it, I believe waggons may travel now with 15 or 1800 wt in them by doubling at one or two pinches only.

[V.H.S.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Great Crossing of the Youghiogany, May 18, 1754.

Sir: I am heartily concerned, that the officers have such real cause to complain of the Committee's resolves; and still more to find my inclinations prone to second their just grievances.

I have endeavoured, as far as I was able, to see in the best light I could the trifling advantages that may accrue; yet nothing prevents their throwing down their commissions, (with gratitude and thanks to your Honor, whose good intentions of serving us we are all well assured of,) but the approaching danger, which has too far engaged their honor to recede till other officers are sent in their room, or an alteration made regarding their pay, during which time they will assist with their best endeavours voluntarily, that is, without receiving the gratuity allowed by the resolves of the Committee.

Giving up my commission is quite contrary to my intention. Nay, I ask it as a greater favor, than any amongst the many I have received from your Honor, to confirm it to me. But let me serve voluntarily; then I will, with the greatest pleasure in life, devote my services to the expedition without any other reward, than the satisfaction of serving my country; but to be slaving dangerously for the shadow of pay, through woods, rocks, mountains,—I would rather prefer the great toil of a daily laborer, and dig for a maintenance, provided I were reduced to the necessity, than serve upon such ignoble terms; for I really do not see why the lives of his Majesty's subjects in Virginia should be of less value, than of those in other parts of his American dominions; especially when it is well known, that we must undergo double their hardship.

I could enumerate a thousand difficulties that we have met with, and must expect to meet with, more than other officers

who have almost double our pay; but as I know you reflect on these things, and are sensible of the hardships we must necessarily encounter, it would be needless to enlarge.

Besides, as I have expatiated fully (and, perhaps, too warmly) in a letter to Colonel Fairfax, who, I suppose, will accompany you to Winchester, upon the motives that occasion these my resolves, I shall not trouble you with them; for the subject leads me too far when I engage in it.[10]

Another thing resolved by the Committee is, that only one sergeant and one corporal be allowed to a company; with whom it is as much impossible to do the necessary duty, as it is to conquer kingdoms with my handful of men.

Upon the whole, I find so many clogs upon the expedition, that I quite despair of success; nevertheless, I humbly beg it, as a particular favor, that your Honor will continue me in the post I now enjoy, the duty whereof I will most cheerfully execute as a volunteer, but by no means upon the present pay.[11]

I hope what I have said will not be taken amiss; for I really believe, were it as much in your power, as it is your inclination, we should be treated as gentlemen and officers, and not have annexed to the most trifling pay, that ever was given to English officers, the glorious allowance of soldier's diet,—a pound of pork, with bread in proportion, per day. Be the consequence

[10] The text is from Sparks; the original eludes the editor.

[11] "Now, Colonel Washington, I shall more particularly answer what relates to yourself, and I must begin with expressing both concern and surprize to find a gentleman, whom I so particularly considered, and from whom I had so great expectations and hopes, appear so differently for himself, and give me leave to say, mistakenly, as I think, concurring with complaints in general so illfounded. I am sensible of your difficulties and you may believe I shall not let your merits pass unnoticed. I believe you sincerely attached to your country's welfare and prosperity, which, you know, very much depends on the success of your present expedition, and this I persuade myself will sweeten the toils; that you will hereafter reflect on with pleasure, and engage you to think of nothing less than resigning your command, or countenancing in any sort the discontent that could never be more unreasonable or pernicious that at present."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, May 25, 1754.

what it will, I am determined not to leave the regiment, but to be amongst the last men that quit the Ohio, even if I serve as a private volunteer, which I greatly prefer to the establishment we are now upon. I am, &c.

SPEECH TO THE HALF KING

Youghiogheny River, May 19, 1754.

I despatched the young Indian who had returned with Mr Ward,[12] to the Half-King, with the following speech.

To the Half-King, &c. My Brethren, It gives me great pleasure, to learn that you are marching to assist me with your counsels; be of good courage, my brethren, and march vigorously towards your brethren the English; for fresh forces will soon join them, who will protect you against your treacherous enemy the French. I must send My friends to you, that they acquaint you with an agreeable speech which the Governor of Virginia has sent to you: He is very sorry for the bad usage you have received. The swollen streams do not permit us to come to you quickly, for that reason I have sent this young man to invite you to come and meet us: he can tell you many things that he has seen in Virginia, and also how well he was received by the most prominent men; they did not treat him as the French do your people who go to their Fort; they refuse them provisions; this man has had given him all that his heart could wish; for the confirmation of all this, I here give you a Belt of Wampum.[13]

[12] Ensign Edward Ward.

[13] When the Indians arrived, they brought their families with them, as they had been invited to do, and so proved rather a source of weakness than of strength. Later they complained that Washington had used them hardly. They were quick to sense situations, and before Fort Necessity was besieged they deserted the Virginians.

To COLONEL JOSHUA FRY[14]

May 23, 1754.

Sir: This day I returned from my discoveries down the Youghiogany, which, I am sorry to say, can never be made navigable. We traced the watercourse near thirty miles, with the full expectation of succeeding in the much desired aim; but, at length, we came to a fall, which continued rough, rocky, and scarcely passable, for two miles, and then fell, within the space of fifty yards, nearly forty feet perpendicular.

As I apprehended there would be difficulty in these waters, I sent the soldiers forward upon the road, when I left the camp, which was as soon as they could cross; therefore, no time has been lost; but the roads are so exceedingly bad, that we proceed very slow.

By concurring intelligence, which we received from the Indians, the French are not above seven or eight hundred strong, and by a late account we are informed, that one half of them were detached in the night, without even the Indians' knowledge, on some secret expedition; but the truth of this, though it is affirmed by an Indian lately from their fort, I cannot yet vouch for, nor tell where they are bound.

I would recommend, in the strongest terms possible, your writing to the Governor for some of the treaty goods, or any others suitable for the Indians. Nothing can be done without them. All the Indians that come expect presents. The French take this method, which proves very acceptable; besides, if you want one or more to conduct a party, to discover the country, to hunt, or for any particular service, they must be bought; their friendship it not so warm, as to prompt them to these services gratis; and that, I believe, every person, who is acquainted with

[14] The text is from Sparks. The whereabouts of the original is unknown and no draft or copy is in the *Washington Papers*.

the nature of Indians, knows. The Indian, that accompanied me down the river, would go no further than the Forks, about ten miles, till I promised him a ruffled shirt, which I must take from my own, and a match-coat. He said the French always had Indians to show them the woods, because they paid well for so doing; and this may be laid down as a standing maxim amongst them. I think were the goods sent out, and delivered occasionally, as you see cause, that four or five hundred pounds' worth would do more good, than as many thousands given at a treaty.

I hope I may be excused for offering my opinions so freely, for I can aver we shall get no intelligence, or other services from them, unless we have goods to apply to these uses. I am, &c.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

G't Meadows, May 27, 1754.

Hon'ble Sir: the 25th Ult., by an Express from Colo. Fry, I receiv'd the News of your Honour's arrival at Winchester, and advice of seeing the Half King and other Chiefs of the 6 Nations. I have by sundry Speeches and messages invited him, Monacatoocha, &c., to meet me, and have reason to expect he is on his Road, as he only purpos'd to settle his People to planting, at a place chosen up Yaughyaughgane for that purpose. but fearing something might have retarded his March, I imediately, upon the arrival of the Express, despatch'd a Messenger with a speech. He is not returned yet. Ab't 4 Days ago I receiv'd a message from the Half [King] of which the following is a copy exactly taken:

"To the forist, his Majesties Commander Offiverses to hom this meay concern:

On acc't of a freench armey to meat Miger Georg Wassiontton therfor my Brotheres I deesir you to be awar of them for deisin'd to strik ye

forist English they see ten days since they marchd I cannot tell what nomber the half King and the rest of the Chiefs will be with you in five dayes to consel, no more at present but give my serves to my Brothers the English

THE HALF-KING
JOHN DAVISON."[15]

This acc't was seconded in the Evening by another that the French were at the x'ing of Yaughyaughgane abt 18 Miles. I hereupon hurried to this place as a convenient spot. We have, with Nature's assistance, made a good Intrenchment, and, by clearing the Bushes out of these Meadows, prepar'd a charming field for an Encounter. I detach'd, imediately upon my arrival here, small light partys of horse (Wag'n Horses) to reconnoitre the Enemy, and discover their strength and motion, who return'd Yesterday with't seeing any thing of them nevertheless, we were alarm'd at Night, and remain'd under Arms from two o'Clock till near Sun rise. We conceive it was our own Men, as 6 of them Deserted, but can't be certain whether it was them or other Enemys. Be it as it will, they were fired at by the Centrys, but I believe without damage.

This morning Mr. Gist arriv'd from his place, where a Detachment of 50 men was seen Yesterday at Noon, com'd by Monsr. La force. He afterwards saw their tracks within 5 Miles of our Camp. I imediately detach'd 75 Men in pursuit of them, who, I hope, will overtake them before they get to red Stone, where their Canoes Lie. Mr. Gist being an Eye-witness of our proceedings, hereupon and waiting for this with't my knowing till just now that he intended to wait upon your Honr. obliges me to refer your Hon'r to him for particulars.

[15] Davison was an interpreter. Washington copied the letter verbatim, to protect himself, as much probably as to amuse Dinwiddie, in event of the exact meaning of the intelligence being called into question later.

As I expect my Messenger in to Night from the Half King, I shall write more fully tomorrow by the Express that came from Colo. Fry.

But before I conclude I must take the Liberty of mentioning to your Honour the gt. necessity there is for having goods out here to give for Services of the Indians; they all expect it and refuse to Scout or do any thing without; saying these Services are paid well by the French. I really think was 5 or 600 Pounds worth of proper goods sent, it wd. tend more to our Interest than so many thousands given in a Lump at a treaty. I have been obliged to pay Shirts for what they have already done which I cannot continue to do.

The numbers of the French have been greatly magnified, as your Honour may see by a Copy of the enclos'd journal, who I sent out to gain Intelligence. I have receiv'd letters from the Governors of Pensylvania and Maryland, Copys of which I also send. I am, &c. [V.H.S.]

JOURNAL

May 27, 1754.

About eight in the Evening I received an express from the *Half-King,* who informed me, that as he was coming to join us, he had seen along the road, the tracks of two men, which he had followed, till he was brought to a low obscure place; that he thought the whole Party of *French* was hidden there. That very moment I sent out forty men, and ordered my ammunition to be put in a place of safety, fearing it to be a Stratagem of the *French* to attack our Camp: I left a guard to defend it and with the rest of my men, set out in a heavy rain, and in a night as dark as pitch, along a path scarce broad enough for one man; we were sometime fifteen or twenty minutes out of the path, before we could come to it again, and we would often

strike against each other in the darkness: All night long we continued our route, and on the 28th, about sun-rise, we arrived at the *Indian* Camp, where, after holding a council with the *Half-King,* we concluded to attack them together; so we sent out two men to discover where they were, as also their position, and what sort of ground was therabout; after which, we prepared to surround them marching one after the other, *Indian* fashion: We had advanced pretty near to them, as we thought, when they discovered us; I ordered my company to fire; my fire was supported by that of Mr. *Waggoner,*[16] and my company and his, received the whole fire of the *French,* during the greater part of the action, which only lasted a quarter of an hour, before the enemy were routed.

We killed Mr. de *Jumonville,* the Commander of the party, as also nine others; we wounded one, and made twenty-one prisoners, among whom were M. *la Force,* M. *Drouillon,* and two cadets.[17] The *Indians* scalped the dead, and took away the greater part of their Arms, after which we marched on with the prisoners under guard, to the *Indian* camp, where again I held a council with the *Half-King;* and there informed him, that the Governor was desirous to see him, and was expecting him at *Winchester;* he answered that, he could not go just then, as his People were in too imminent a danger from the *French,* whom they had attacked; that he must send runners to all the allied nations, inviting them to take up the Hatchet. He sent a young *Delaware Indian* to the *Delaware* Nation, and gave him also a *French* scalp to carry to them. This man desired to have a part of the presents which were allotted to them, but the remaining part he said might be kept for another opportunity. He said he would go to his own family, and to several others, and bring them to Mr. Gist's, whither he desired

[16] Lieut., later Capt. Thomas Waggoner.

[17] M. Drouillon held the rank of major; the two cadets were de Boucherville and du Sablé; La Force was a French subaltern.

me to send men and horses to assist them in coming to our camp. After this I marched on with the prisoners. *They had informed me that they had been sent with a summons to order me to retire*—A plausible pretence to discover our camp, and to obtain knowledge of our forces and our situation! It was so clear that they had come to reconnoitre what we were that I admired their assurance, when they told me they were come as an Embassy; their instructions were to get what knowledge they could of the roads, rivers, and of all the Country as far as the *Potowmack*. And instead of coming as an Embassador, publicly, and in an open manner, they came secretly, and sought after the most hidden retreats, more fit for deserters than for Embassadors; they encamped there and remained hidden for whole days together, at a distance of not more than five miles from us; they sent spies to reconnoiter our camp; the whole body turned back 2 miles; they sent the two messengers mentioned in the instructions to inform M. *de Contrecœur* of the place where we were, and of our disposition, that he might send his detachments to inforce the summons as soon as it should be given.

Besides, an Embassador has princely attendants, whereas this was only a simple petty *French* officer; an Embassador has no need of spies, his person being always sacred: and since their intention was so good, why did they tarry two days, five miles distance from us, without acquainting me with the summons, or at least, with something that related to the Embassy? That alone would be sufficient to excite the strongest suspicions, and we must to do them the justice to say, that as they wanted to hide themselves, they could not have picked out better places than they had done.

The summons is so insolent, and savors so much of Gasconnade, that if it been brought openly by two men, it would have been an excessive Indulgence to have suffered them to return.

It was the opinion of the *Half-King* in this case that their intentions were evil, and that it was a pure pretence; that they had never intended to come to us otherwise than as enemies; and if we had been such fools as to let them go, they would never have helped us to take any other Frenchmen.

They say they called to us as soon as they had discovered us; which is an absolute falsehood for I was then marching at the head of the company going towards them and can positively affirm, that, when they first saw us, they ran to their arms, without calling; as I must have heard them had they so done.[18]

*To COLONEL JOSHUA FRY

Camp on the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

Sir: This by an immediate express, I send to inform you, that Yesterday I engag'd a party of French, whereof 11 were killed and 20 taken, with the loss of only 1 of mine killed and 2 or 3 wounded, among which was Lieutenant Waggener:[19] by some of their Papers we can discover, that large detach'ts. are expected every day, which we may reasonably suppose are to attack us, especially since we have began.

This is therefore to acquaint you with the necessity of a Reinforce't, which I hope you will detach imediately, as you can be in no manner of danger in your March; for the French must pass our Camp, which I flatter myself is not practicable with't my having intelligence thereof, especially as there will be Indians always scouting; if there does not come a sufficient Reinforcement, we must either quit our Gd, and retreat to you, or

[18] This account of the Jumonville fight, which is credited with starting the French and Indian War, as it was called in America, is taken from the French publication, *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits,* which the French changed in certain particulars to suit their purposes. It should be compared with Washington's unaltered account of the skirmish in his letter to Governor Dinwiddie, May 29, *post.*

[19] The Jumonville skirmish.

fight very unequal Numbers, which I will do, before I will give up one Inch of what we have gained. The great haste I am in, to dispatch the bearer, prevents me from being particular at this time. I shall conclude, Sir, with assuring you how sincerely concerned I am for your indisposition[20] which I hope you'll soon recover from, and be able to join us, with the Artillery, that we may attack the French [in] their forts. I am, &c.

[V.H.S.]

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Camp at the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

Hon'ble. Sir: To answer your Honour's letter of the 25th,[21] by Mr. Birney,[22] I shall begin with assuring you, that nothing was farther from my intention than to recede, tho' I then press'd, and still desire, that my Services may be voluntary, rather than on the present Pay. I am much concern'd, that your Honour should seem to charge me with ingratitude for

[20] Colonel Fry died at Wills Creek two days after this letter was written, and the command of the expedition devolved on Washington, as second in rank. Reinforcements were forwarded, so that the whole number of troops under his immediate command amounted to somewhat more than 300. The death of Colonel Fry was considered an essential loss to the service. He was born in Somersetshire, England, and educated at Oxford. Excelling in the mathematical sciences, he was at one time professor of mathematics in the College of William and Mary; and, after resigning that station, he was a member of the House of Burgesses, and otherwise employed in public affairs, particularly in running the boundary line at the westward between Virginia and North Carolina. In concert with Peter Jefferson he made a map of Virginia, which had much repute. By these employments he had gained such a knowledge of the interior country, as, with other qualifications, pointed him out for this command. He was one of the commissioners from the government of Virginia for making a treaty with the Indians at Logstown, June, 1752.—*Sparks.*

[21] Dinwiddie's letter of the 25th began: "I can assure you I am concern'd, and no less surpriz'd by yr. Letr. of the 18th of this Mo. Such ill-timed Complaints, and, as I conceive, not altogether found in such real Cause, as I am sorry to find you think they are. You certainly judge very rightly of the importance of the Service, and that yr. Honrs. are engag'd too far to recede from it. . . . There is not so great Provocation to withdraw y'rselves . . . as you seem to think at Present. The first Objectn. to the Pay, if made at all, sh'd have been made before engaging in the Service."

[22] Thomas Birney was a blacksmith who had lived some years among the Twightwees. Dinwiddie used him as a messenger.—*Ford.*

your generous, and my undeserved favours; for I assure you, Hon'ble Sir, nothing is a greater stranger to my Breast, or a Sin that my Soul abhors, than that black and detestable one Ingratitude. I retain a true sense of your kindnesses, and want nothing but oppertunity to give testimony of my willingness to oblige you, as far as my Life or fortune will extend.

I cou'd not object to the Pay before I knew it. I dare say your Honour remembers the first estimation allow'd a Lieut.-Colo. 15/ and Maj'r 12/6, which I then complain'd very much off; till your Honour assur'd me that we were to be furnish'd with proper necessary's and offer'd that as a reason why the pay was Less than British: after this, when you were so kind to preferr me to the Com'd I now have, and at the same time acquainted me, that I was to have but 12/6 This, with some other Reasons, induced me to acquaint Colo. Fairfax with my intention of Resigning, which he must well remember, as it happ'd at Belhaven[23]; and was there that he dissuaded me from it, and promised to represent the trifling pay to your Honour who would endeavour (as I at the same time told him that the Speaker thought the Officers' pay too small) to have it enlarg'd.

As to the Numbers that applied for Commissions, and to whom we were preferr'd; I believe, had those Gentlemen been as knowing of this Country, and as Sensible of the difficulties that would attend a Campaign here as I then was, I conceive your Honour w'd not have been so troublesomely sollicited as you were; yet I do not offer this as a reason for quitting the Service. for my own part I can answer, I have a Constitution hardy enough to encounter and undergo the most severe tryals, and, I flatter myself, resolution to Face what any Man durst, as shall be prov'd when it comes to the Test, which I believe we are upon the Borders off.

[23] Later Alexandria.

There is nothing, Sir, (I believe) more certain, than that the Officers on the Canada Expedition had British pay allowed, whilst they were in the Service.[24] Lieut. Wag'r, Capt. Trent, and several others, whom I have convers'd with on that Head, and were engag'd in it, affirm it for truth: Therefore, Honble. Sir, as this can't be allow'd; suffer me to serve Volunteer, which, I assure you, will be the next reward to British pay; for, as my Services, so far as I have knowledge, will equal those of the best Officer, I make it a point of Hon'r to serve for less, and accept a medium.

Nevertheless, I have communicated your Honour's Sentiments to them; and, as far as I could put on the Hypocrite, set forth the advantages that may accrue, and advised them to accept the Terms, as a refusal might reflect dishonour upon their Character, leaving it to the World to assign what reason they please for quitting the Service. I am very sensible of the pernicious consequences that will attend their resigning, as they have by this gain'd some experience of the Military Art, have a tolerable knowledge of the Country, being sent most of them out at different times with partys; and now are accustom'd to the hardships and fatigues of Living as we do, which, I believe, were it truly stated, w'd prevent your Honour from many troublesome Sollicitations from others for Com's. This last motive has and will induce me to do what I can to reconcile matters; tho' I really believe there is some, that will not remain long with't an alteration. They have promised to consider of it, and give your Honour an answer. I was not ignorant of the allow'e, which Colo. Fry has for his Table; but, being a depend't

[24] The Louisburg expedition of 1746, on which the Massachusetts colonials were paid at the same rate as the British regulars.—*Sparks.* The Virginia militia law of 1748 fixed the pay of the troops in tobacco; but when the trouble with the French began the pay was established as: Colonels, 15s.; lieutenant colonels, 12s. 6d.; majors, 10s.; captains, 8s.; lieutenants, 4s.; ensigns, 3s.; surgeons, 4s.; privates, 8d. and a pistole on enlisting.—*Ford.*

there myself deprives of the pleasure of inviting an Officer, or Friend, which to me w'd be more agreeable, than the Nick Nacks I shall meet with there.

And here I cannot forbear answering one thing more in your Honrs. Letter on this head; which (too) is more fully express'd in a paragraph of Colo. Fairfax's to me, as follows;— "If, on the British Establishment, Officers are allow'd more Pay, the Regimentals they are oblig'd annually to furnish, their necessary Table and other incidents, being consider'd, little or no savings will be their Portion."

I believe it is well known we have been at the expense of Regimentals (and it is still better known) that Regimentals, and every other necessary, that we were under an indispensable necessity of purchasing for this Expedition, were not to be bought for less in Vir'a curr'y, than British officers could get for sterling money; which they ought to have been, to put upon a parity in this respect. Then Colo. Fairfax observes, that their Table and other Incident charges prevents them from saving much; if they don't save much, they have the enjoyment of their Pay, which we neither have in one sense nor the other. We are debarr'd the pleasure of good Living; which, Sir (I dare say with me you will concur) to one who has always been used to it; must go somewhat hard to be confin'd to a little salt provision and water; and do duty, hard, laborious duty, that is almost inconsistent with that of a Soldier, and yet the same Reductions as if he were allow'd luxuriously: My pay, accord'g to the British Establish't and common exchange, is near 22/ p'r Day; in the R'm of that, the Committee (for I can't in the least imagine y'r H'r had any h'd in it) has provided 12/6, so long as the service requires me; whereas one half of the other is ascertain'd to the British officers for ever; now if we sh'd be fortunate enough to drive the French from

Ohio, as far as your Honour w'd please have them sent to, in any short time, our Pay will not be sufficient to discharge our first expences.

I would not have your Honour imagine from this, that I have said all these things to have the Pay encreas'd, but to justify myself, and shew your Honour that our complaints are not frivolous, but founded upon strict Reason: for my own part, it is a matter almost indifferent whether I serve for full pay, or as a generous Volunteer; indeed, did my circumstances corrispond with my Inclination, I sh'd not hesitate a moment to prefer the Latter; for the motives that lead me here were pure and Noble. I had no view of acquisition, but that of Honour, by serving faithfully my King and Country.

As your Honour has recommended Mr. Willis,[25] you may depend I shall with pleasure do all that I can for him. But above all, Sir, you may depend I shall take all possible means of procuring intelligence, and guarding against surprises; and be assur'd nothing but very unequal numbers shall engage me to submit or Retreat.

Now, Sir, as I have answer'd your Honour's Letter, I shall beg leave to acq't you with what has happen'd since I wrote by Mr. Gist. I then acquainted you, that I had detach'd a party of 75 Men to meet with 50 of the French, who, we had Intelligence, were upon their March towards us to Reconnoitre &ca. Ab't 9 O'clock the same night, I receiv'd an express from the Half King, who was Incamp'd with several of his People ab't 6 Miles of, that he had seen the Tract of two French Men x'ing the road, and believ'd the whole body were lying not far off, as he had an acc't of that number passing Mr. Gist.

I set out with 40 Men before 10, and was from that time till near Sun rise before we reach'd the Indian's Camp, hav'g

[25] Francis Willis.

March'd in [a] small path, a heavy Rain, and a Night as Dark as it is possible to conceive. We were frequently tumbling one over another, and often so lost, that 15 or 20 Minutes' search would not find the path again.

When we came to the Half King, I council'd with him, and got his assent to go hand in hand and strike the French. Accordingly, himself, Monacatoocha,[26] and a few other Indians set out with us; and when we came to the place where the Tracts were, the Half King sent two Indians to follow their tracts, and discover their lodgement, which they did ab't half a mile from the Road, in a very obscure place surrounded with Rocks. I thereupon, in conjunction with the Half King and Monacatoocha, form'd a disposition to attack y'm on all sides, which we accordingly did, and, after an Engagement of ab't 15 Minutes, we killed 10, wounded one, and took 21 Prisoners. Amongst those that were killed was Monsieur Jumonville, the Commander, princip'l Officers taken is Monsieur Druillong and Mons'r La force, who your Honour has often heard me speak of as a bold Enterprising Man, and a person of great sublity and cunning. With these are two Cadets.

These Officers pretend they were coming on an Embassy; but the absurdity of this pretext is too glaring, as your Honour will see by the Instructions and Summons inclos'd. These Instructions were to reconnoitre the Country, Roads, Creeks, &ca. to Potomack, which they were ab't to do. These Enterprising Men were purposely choose out to get intelligence, which they were to send Back by some brisk dispatches, with mention of the Day that they were to serve the Summons; which could be through no other view, than to get sufficient Reinforcements to fall upon us immediately after. This, with several other

[26] Monakatoocha; also known as Scarrooyady. He was an Oneida and Mingo chief.

Reasons, induc'd all the Officers to believe firmly, that they were sent as spys, rather than any thing else, and has occasion'd my sending them as prisoners, tho' they expected (or at least had some faint hope, of being continued as ambassadors)

They, finding where we were Incamp'd, instead of coming up in a Publick manner, sought out one of the most secret Retirements, fitter for a Deserter than an Imbassador to incamp in, and s[t]ay'd there two or 3 Days, sent Spies to Reconnoitre our Camp, as we are told, tho' they deny it. Their whole Body mov'd back near 2 miles, sent off two runners to acquaint Contrecœur with our Strength, and where we were Incamp'd. &ca. Now 36 Men w'd almost have been a Retinue for a Princely Ambassador, instead of Petit, why did they, if their designs were open, stay so long within 5 Miles of us, with't delivering his Ambassy, or acquainting me with it; His waiting c'd be with no other design, than to get Detachm't to enforce the Summons, as soon as it was given, they had no occasion to send out Spys, for the Name of Ambassador is Sacred among all Nations; but it was by the tract of these Spys, they were discover'd, and we got Intelligence of them. They w'd not have retir'd two Miles back with't delivering the Summons, and sought a sculking place (which, to do them justice, was done with g't Judgment) but for some especial reason: Besides The Summons is so insolent and savours so much of Gascoigny that if two Men only had come openly to deliver it. It was too great Indulgence to have sent them back.

The Sense of the Half King on this Subject is, that they have bad Hearts, and that this is a mere pretence; they never design'd to have come to us but in a hostile manner, and if we were so foolish as to let them go again, he never would assist us in taking another of them. Besides, looseing La Force, I really think, w'd tend more to our disservice, than 50 other Men, as

he is a Person whose active Spirit, leads him into all parlys, and brought him acquainted with all parts, add to this a perfect use of the Indian Tongue, and g't influence with the Indians. He Ingenuously enough confess'd, that as soon as he saw the Commission and Instructions that he believ'd and then said he expected some such tendency, tho' he pretends to say he does not believe the Commander had any other but a good design.[27]

In this Engagement we had only one Man kill'd, and two or three wounded, among which was Lieutt. Waggener slightly, a most miraculous escape, as Our Right Wing was much expos'd to their Fire and receiv'd it all.

The Half King receiv'd your Honour's speech very kind, but desird me to inform you that he could not leave his People at this time, thinking them in great Danger. He is now gone to the xing for their Familys to bring to our camp and he desird I wd send some Men and Horses to assist them up; which I have accordingly done; sent 30 men and upwards of 20 Horses. He says if your Honr. has any thing to say you may communicate by me, &ca.; and that if you have a present for them it may be kept to another occasion, after sending up some things for their imediate use. He has declar'd to send these Frenchmen's Scalps with a Hatchet to all the Nations of Indian's in union with them, and did that very day give a Hatchet and a large Belt of Wampum to a Delaware Man to carry to Shingiss: he promis'd me to send down the River for all the Minsgo's and Shawnesse to our Camp, where I expect him to morrow with 30 or 40 men with their Wives and Children, to confirm what he has said here, he has sent your Honour a string of Wampum.

[27] This skirmish and the subsequent assassination acknowledgment in the capitulation at Fort Necessity created so great a stir at the time and has been productive of such discussion since that a comparison of this letter with the account published by the French in *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits*, is illuminative of the method used by the French in coloring Washington's narrative to suit their purposes.

As these Runners went off to the Fort on Sunday last, I shall expect every hour to be attack'd, and by unequal numbers, which I must withstand if there are 5 to 1 or else I fear the Consequence will be we shall loose the Indians if we suffer ourselves to be drove Back, I despatch'd an express imediately to Colo. Fry with this Intelligence desiring him to send me Reinforcements with all imaginable dispatch.

Your Honour may depend I will not be surprized let them come what hour they will; and this is as much as I can promise, but my best endeavour's shall not be wanting to deserve more, I doubt not if you hear I am beaten, but you will at the same [time,] hear that we have done our duty in fighting as long [as] there was a possibility of hope.

I have sent Lieut't. West,[28] accompanied with Mr. Sprilldorph and a guard of 20 Men, to conduct the Prisoners in, and I believe the Officer's have acquainted him what answer to return y'r Honour.

Monsieur La Force, and Monsieur Druillong beg to be recommend to your Honour's notice, and I have promis'd they shall meet with all the favour thats due to Imprison'd officer's: I have shew'd all the respect I co'd to them here, and have given some necessary cloathing, by which I have disfurnish'd myself, for having brought no more than two or three Shirts from Will's C'k that we might be light I was ill provided to furnish them. I am, &c.

N. B. I have neither seen nor heard any particular acc't of the Twigtwees since I came on these water's, we have already begun a Palisado'd Fort and hope to have it up tomorrow. I must beg leave to acq't. your honr. that Captn. Vanbraam and Monsr Peyrorny has behav'd extremely well since they came out, and I hope will meet w'h your Hon'r's fav'r. [V.H.S.]

[28] Lieut. John West, jr.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Camp at the Great Meadows, May 29, 1754.

Sir: The bearer hereof, Monsieur Drouillong with Monsieur La-Force and two Cadets, I beg leave to recommend to your Honour's particular Notice, as Prisoners of War, and Officers whom I had the Honour of taking.

I have assur'd them, that they will meet with all the Respect and favour due to their Charact'r and Personal merit; and I hope they will do me the justice to acquaint your Honour that I neglected no means that was in my power to render their confinement easy here.

Lieut. West is preferred to conduct these Gentlemen, with 16 Private Prisoners, to your Honour at Winchester, who will acq't you with the profound respect with which I am etc.[29]

[V.H.S.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE[30]

[May 29, 1754.]

Honble. Sir: Since writing the other, [letter] I have still stronger presumption, indeed almost confirmation, that they[31] were sent as Spyes, and were order'd to wait near us till they were truly informd of our Intentions, situation, strength &ca.

[29] To Washington's mortification Dinwiddie refused to abide by the articles of capitulation of Fort Necessity in regard to these French prisoners on the ground that the French after that capitulation captured eight English, offered them for sale, and afterwards sent them to Canada. "On hearing of this, I detained the seventeen prisoners, the officer, and two cadets, as I am of opinion, after they were in my custody, Washington could not engage for their being returned. I have ordered a flag of truce to be sent to the French, offering the return of their officer and the two cadets for the two hostages they have of ours." The two hostages were Van Braam and Robert Stobo, who were finally sent to England by the Governor of Canada. Drouillon, La Force, and the cadets were kept in Virginia for a long time.

[30] From the original, in private hands. Dinwiddie's secretary has indorsed the date as May 29.

[31] Jumonville's party.

and were to have acquainted the Commander therewith, and laid lurking hear for Reinforcements before they served the Summons, if it at all.

I doubt not but they will[32] endeavour to amuse your Honour with many smooth Stories, as they did me but were confuted in them all and by circumstances too plain to be denied almost made ashamed of their assertions. I dare say your Honour will treat them with respect which is due to all unfortunate Persons in their Condition. But I hope you will give no Ear to what they will have an oppertunity for displaying to the best advantage, having none by to contradict their reports.

I have heard, since they went away, that they should say they call'd to us not to Fire; but that I know to be False, for I was the first Man that approached them, and the first whom they saw, and immediately upon it ran to their Arms, and fir'd briskly till they were defeated.

We have heard of another being killed by the Indians, that made his Escape from us; so that we are certain of 33 that are kill'd and taken.[33] I thought it expedient to acquaint your Honor with the above, as I fancy they will have the assurance of asking the Priviledges due to an Embassy, when in strict justice they ought to be hang'd as Spyes of the worst sort, being authorizd by their Commander, at the expense of a Character, which shd be Sacred to all Nations, and never trifled with or used in an Equivocal way. I am, &c.

[32] Messrs. Drouillon and La Force.

[33] Contrecœur's orders in *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits* put the strength of Jumonville's party at 35. Two of them had been sent back by Jumonville the day before the fight. Their tracks were seen by Half King and reported to Washington. Washington's justification of his surprise attack insists too much upon the embassy character afterwards claimed by the French. The situation plainly resolves itself into that of two armed forces, each convinced that the other is an active enemy, scouting for each other in the woods. At the time and under the circumstances, it was humanly impossible to prevent firing the moment contact was established.

To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Camp At Great Meadow, May 31, 1754.

Since my last arrived at this place, where three days ago we had an engagement with the French, that is, a party of our men with one of theirs. Most of our men were out upon other detachments, so that I had scarcely 40 men remaining under my command, and about 10 or 12 Indians; nevertheless we obtained a most signal victory. The battle lasted about 10 or 15 minutes, with sharp firing on both sides, till the French gave ground and ran, but to no great purpose. There were 12 killed of the French, among whom was Mons. de Jumonville, their commander, and 21 taken prisoners, among whom are Mess. La Force and Drouillon, together with two cadets. I have sent them to his honour the Governor, at Winchester, under a guard of 20 men, conducted by Lieutenant West. We had but one man killed, and two or three wounded. Among the wounded on our side was Lieutenant Waggener, but no danger, it is hoped, will ensue. We expect every hour to be attacked by superior force, but, if they forbear one day longer, we shall be prepared for them. We have already got entrenchments, are about a pallisado which I hope will be finished to-day. The Mingoes have struck the French and I hope will give a good blow before they have done. I expect 40 odd of them here to-night, which, with out fort and some reinforcements from Col. Fry, will enable us to exert our noble courage with spirit.

P. S. I fortunately escaped without any wound, for the right wing, where I stood, was exposed to and received all the enemy's fire, and it was the part where the man was killed, and the rest wounded. I heard the bullets whistle, and, believe me, there is something charming in the sound.[84]

[84] From the *London Magazine* (August, 1754). Horace Walpole's *Memoirs of George the Second* relates that the King, on hearing that Washington described the sound of whistling bullets as "charming," said: "He would not say so, if he had

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Camp, June 3, 1754.

Honorable Sir: The Half-King,[35] with about 25 Families, cont'g near 80 persons, including women and children, arriv'd here last night. He has given me some acc't of the Twightwees, Wyandotts and several other Nations of Indians, which I have transmitted to your Honour by an express, as you enquir'd circumstantially in your last, and I was then unable to give any acc't at all of them.

The French, early in the spring, sent a speech to the Wyandotts, Twigtwees and their Allies, and desir'd them to take up the Hatchet and start to Ohio and their cut of [f] the Inhabitants with all the English thereon. This the big Kettle[36] acquainted the Half-King with, and at the same time assur'd him with their good intentions of assisting the 6 Nations and their Brothers, the English, ag't the French, and that they only waited to see us begin. I have enclosed the speech of the Chiefs, to which was added another from the Warriors, informing that they were busy in councilling with the Chippeways, Ottoways, &c., and striving to bring all into the same mind with themselves. They desire the 6 Nations, Virginians, and Pennsylvanians, not to doubt but that they shall accomplish their designs in this, and when they do, [I] will send word thereof.

Monacatoocha was sent by the Half-King ab't 5 nights ago to the Logs Town, with 4 French scalps, two of which was to be sent to the Wyandotts, &c., and the other two to the 6 Na-

been used to hear many." There is a reference to this also in Gordon's *History*, vol. 2, p. 203.

[35] The Half King was a Seneca chief named Tenacharison. He was called "Half King" because he was not wholly free, but owed certain allegiance to the Five Nations. He was with Washington at the Jumonville skirmish. He was an old man and appears to have died in October, 1754.

[36] Big Kettle was Grand-Chaudiere, probably the same as Canajachreesa, a Seneca chief. Hanna's *Wilderness Trail* (vol. 1, p. 345) says the Pennsylvanians called him "Broken Kettle" and the Virginians "Big Kettle."

tions, telling them that the French had tricked them out of their lands, for which, with their Brothers, the English, who joyn'd hand in hand, they had let them feel the wait of their Hatchet, which was but triflings yet, as it only lay'd on 30, for that they int'd with their Brothers, to drive the French beyond the Lakes. Monacatoocha has orders to draw all the Indians from Ohio, and then repair to our Camp.

I proposed to the Half-King sending their women and children into the Inhabitants, for, as they must be supported by us, it may be done at less expense there than here; beside this, there may another good attend it, their children may imbibe the principles of love and friendship in a stronger degree, which, if taken when young, is generally more firm and lasting. He told me he would consider of it and give answer when Monacatoocha arrived. I hope this will be agreeable to your Honour who I wrote to before on this head without receiv'g an answer. We find it very difficult procuring provisions for them, as they [share] equally with our own men, which is unavoidable witho't turning them adrift entirely.

Montour[37] would be of singular use to me here at this moment, in conversing with the Indians, for I have no Person's that I can put any dependence in. I make use of all the influence I can to engage them warmly on our side, and flatter myself that I am not unsuccessful, but for want of a better acquaintance with their customs, I am often at a loss how to behave, and should be relieved from many anxious fears of offend'g them if Montour was here to assist me; and as he is in the governm'nts employ't, I hope your Hon'r will think with me, his services cannot be apply'd to so g't advantage as here upon this occasion.

[37] Capt. Andrew Montour, a French Huron half-breed. Dinwiddie employed him as an interpreter.

There was 3 French Deserters, met a few days [ago] (one an Englishman) at Loyal henning,[38] going to Virg'a, by one Crawford,[39] a Man of veracity, who was assur'd by them that there was two Major traders confined in Irons at the Fort when Sieur De Jumonville was Detach'd; and at the same time that he departed for this, another Party of 50 was sent down Ohio to Kill or take Prisoners of all the English they'd meet with. They also assure us that Jumonville has all chosen Men fixed upon for this Enterprise. They likewise confirm the report the prisoners gave, that 1,100 men were now in the Fort, and Reinforce'ts expected.

If the whole Detach't of the French behave with no more Resolution than this chosen Party did, I flatter myself we shall have no g't trouble in driving them to the d Montreal. Tho' I took 40 men under my com'd when I marched out, yet the darkness of the night was so great, that by wandering a Little from the main body 7 were lost, and but 33 ingag'd. There was also but 7 Indians with arms, two of which were Boys one Dinwiddie, Y'r Hon'rs God Son, who behav'd well in action. There were 5 or 6 Indians, who served to knock the poor, unhappy wounded in the head, and bereiv'd them of their scalps. So that we had but 40 men, with which we tried and took 32 or 3 men, besides others, who may have escaped. One, we have certain acc't did.

We have just finish'd a small palisado'd Fort,[40] in which, with my small numbers, I shall not fear the attack of 500 men.

There is three separate strings of Wampum, which the Half-King has desir'd me to send. One is from the Wyandott Chiefs to confirm what they said; another is from the Warriors, to confirm theirs; and the other (white) is from Monacatoocha;

[38] Loyalhanna, Pa. Ford points out the many variations in spelling under which it appears.

[39] Possibly William or his brother, Valentine Crawford.

[40] Fort Necessity.

and since writing the above there has arrived two Indians from Moskingam, who inform [me] that the Wyandotts, &c., are ready to strike so soon as they hear the 6 Nation's and English have. [H.S.P.]

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE[41]

June 10, 1754.

Hon'ble Sir: Your's of the 1st, 2nd and 4th Ulto I received by the Post, and return your Honour my hearty thanks for your kind congratulation on our late success, which I hope to improve without risquing the imputation of rashness or hazarding what a prudent conduct wou'd forbid. I rejoice that I am likely to be happy under the command of an experienced Officer and man of Sense, it is what I have ardently wish'd for.[42] I shall here beg leave to return my grateful thanks for your favour in promoting me to the Command of the Regiment, believe me, Hon'ble Sir, when I assure you my Breast is warm'd with every generous sentiment that your goodness can inspire; I want nothing but opportunity to testifie my sincere regard for your Person, to whom I stand indebted for so many unmerited favours.

Your Honour may depend I shall myself, and will endeavour to make my Officers shew Capt. McKay[43] all the respect due to

[41] Ford (*Writings of Washington*, vol. 1, p. 96, note) finds that both Sparks and the editor of the *Dinwiddie Papers* have confused this letter. Sparks combines three letters as one and the editor of the *Dinwiddie Papers* printed parts of two letters as one. Ford's rearrangement is as logical as can be devised and is here followed. Photostats of the originals in the *Dinwiddie Papers* show that there were two distinct letters and that the last part of one and the first part of the other are now missing. The first eight and a half lines of the letter have been retraced by an unknown individual and the indorsement dates it "10 June 1752."

[42] Col. James Innes, of North Carolina, a personal friend of Governor Dinwiddie, who appointed him to command the expedition after Col. Joshua Fry's death. Washington was given command of the Virginia troops. Ford states that Innes did not reach Winchester until June 20 and that the North Carolina troops, which started with him, disbanded before Winchester was reached.

[43] Capt. James MacKay, or McKay. He was an officer in the British Army and refused to take orders from provincial officers who ranked him. He was with Washington at Fort Necessity and signed that capitulation, ahead of the Virginia colonel.

his Rank and merit, but should have been particularly oblig'd if your Honour had declar'd whether he was under my Command or Independent of it; however, I shall be studious to avoid all disputes that may tend to publick prejudice, but as far as I am able, I will inculate harmony and unanimity. I hope Capt. McKay will have more sense than to insist upon any unreasonable distinction, tho' he and His have Com'ns from his Majest; let him consider tho' we are greatly inferior in respect to profitable advantages, yet we have the same Spirit to serve our Gracious King as they have, and are as ready and willing to sacrifice our lives for our Country's as them; and here once more and for the last time, I must say this Will be a cancer that will grate some Officers of this Regiment beyond all measure, to serve upon such different terms, when their Lives, their Fortunes, and their Characters are equally, and I dare say as effectually expos'd as those who are happy enough to have King's Commissions. I have been sollicitous on this head, have earnestly endeavour'd to reconcile the Officers to their appointment, and flatter myself I have succeeded, having heard no mention thereof lately. I consider'd the pernicious consequences that would have attended a disunion, therefore, was too much attach'd to my Country's Interest to suffer it to ripen after I rec'd your advising Letters.[44]

I am very thankful to you for ordering an assortment of Indian goods, which we daily find still more necessary. I shall take care, while they are under my direction, that they are judiciously applied, and shall be particularly careful in consulting Mr. Croghan[45] and Mr. Montour, by whom I shall be advised in all Indian affairs agreeably to your directions.

[44] Dinwiddie had written to Colonel Fry in May and to Washington in June, urging care in dealing with the officers of the independent companies, but did not definitely commit himself upon the vital point of rank and power.

[45] Col. George Croghan, Indian agent for Pennsylvania; came to America from Ireland and settled on the Juniata River above Harrisburg. He was trading with the Indians as early as 1746 and was trusted by them. In 1754 Dinwiddie employed him as an interpreter.

I shall with great pleasure wear the medal, which you were pleased to compliment me with, and shall present the others to Indian chiefs, as I have already done one to the Half-King.

[V.H.S.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

[June 12, 1754.][46]

We have been extremely ill used by Major Carlyle's[47] deputies, which I am heartily sorry for, since he is a gentleman so capable of the business himself, and has taken so much pains to give satisfaction. He, I believe, has been deceived, and we have suffered by those under him, and by those who have contracted for provisions. We have been six days without flour, and there is none upon the road for our relief that we know of, though I have by repeated expresses given him timely notice. We have not provisions of any sort enough in camp to serve us two days. Once before we should have been four days without provisions, if Providence had not sent a trader from the Ohio to our relief, for whose flour I was obliged to give twenty-one shillings and eight pence per hundred.

In a late letter to Major Carlyle, I have complained of the tardiness of his deputies. I likewise desired, that suitable stores of ammunition might be sent up speedily, for till that is done we have it not in our power to attempt any advantageous enterprise; but must wait its arrival at Red-stone, for which I shall set off the moment provisions arrive to sustain us on the march. Major Carlyle mentioned a contract he had made with Mr. Croghan for flour, likewise Mr. Croghan's offer of

[46] Washington neglected to date this letter. Ford notes that Dinwiddie's answer of June 27 permits the date of this to be fixed as June 12. Sparks combines this and the letter of June 10 as one letter.

[47] Maj. John Carlyle, of Alexandria, and commissary of the Virginia forces at this time.

furnishing more if required. I have therefore desired to have all that Mr. Croghan can furnish.

The Indians are drawing off from the River daily, one of whom last night brought news of Monacatoocha. He went from Logstown about five nights ago with the French scalps, and four hatchets, with which he intended to visit the four tribes of Indians between this and Lake Erie, and present to each tribe a scalp and hatchet, and at the same time acquaint them that it was expected, as the English and Six Nations had hand-in-hand struck the French, they would join our forces. This messenger likewise says, that Monacatoocha was determined not only to counsel with the chiefs of those tribes, but with their great warriors also, which is customary in these cases, and was to return as soon as possible, which he imagined would be in fifteen days; but in case he should not return in that time, he left orders for the Indians at Logstown to set off for Red-stone Creek, so that they all would meet at Red-stone to join their brothers the English. He also desired there might be no attack made against the French fort, till he should return, by which time he hoped all the forces would be gathered, and then they would make a general attack together, and gain a complete victory at once.

The Half-King has sent messengers to other places for warriors, who are to meet us also at Red-stone Creek. Besides these, he has sent two messengers, by the advice of Mr. Croghan, Mr. Montour, and myself, one to invite the Shawanese to come and receive one of their men, who was imprisoned in Carolina, and to counsel with us, and the other to the Delawares for the same purpose, as we hear both these nations have accepted the hatchet against us. This report was first brought by an Indian sent from Logstown to the Half-King, and since confirmed by nine French deserters, who arrived at our camp to-day. These

men farther say, that the fort at the Fork is completed, and proof against any attempts, but with bombs, on the land side. There were not above five hundred men in it, when they left it, but they suppose by this time two hundred more are arrived. Nine hundred were ordered to follow them, who might be expected in fourteen or fifteen days.

I was as much disappointed when I met these persons to-day, as ever I was in my life. By misunderstanding the scouts that brought me intelligence, that is, mistaking ninety for nine, I marched out at the head of one hundred and thirty men (the major part of the effective men in the regiment), full with the hope of procuring another present of French prisoners for your Honor. Judge then my disappointment at meeting nine only, and those coming for protection. I guarded against all casualties, that might happen to the camp, and ordered Major Muse[48] to repair into the fort, and erect the small swivels for the defence of the place, which he could do in an hour's time.

Agreeably to your desire I shall here mention the names of the gentlemen, who are to be promoted. Lieutenant George Mercer[49] will worthily succeed to a captaincy. Captain Vanbraam[50] has acted as captain ever since we left Alexandria. He is an experienced, good officer, and very worthy of the command he has enjoyed. Mr. James Towers is the oldest ensign, for whom you will please to send a lieutenancy. To Captain Stephen[51] I have already given a major's commission, finding one blank among Colonel Fry's papers. If merit, Sir, will

[48] Maj. George Muse.

[49] Later a captain and aide-de-camp to Washington; still later a lieutenant colonel of the Second Virginia Regiment. He was the son of John Mercer of Marlboro. Served also with Braddock. Became a burgess in 1761, and went to England as agent for the Ohio Company in 1763; returned to Virginia as stamp collector, but declined to serve. Was appointed lieutenant governor of North Carolina in 1767. Mercer returned to England prior to the Revolution and died there in 1784.—*Ford.*

[50] Jacob Van Braam, a Hollander. He taught Washington fencing and has been blamed, probably too harshly, for the presence of the word "assassin" in the Fort Necessity capitulation.

[51] Adam Stephen.

entitle a gentlemen to your notice, Mr. Peyrouny[52] may justly claim a share of your favor. His conduct has been governed by the most consummate prudence, and all his actions have sufficiently testified his readiness to serve his country, which I really believe he looks upon Virginia to be. He was sensibly chagrined, when I acquainted him with your pleasure, of giving him an ensigncy. This he had twelve years ago, and long since commanded a company. He was prevailed on by Colonel Fry, when he left Alexandria, to accept the former commission, and assist my detachment, as I had very few officers, till we all met on the Ohio, which commission he would now have resigned, and returned to Virginia, but for my great dissuasion to the contrary. I have promised to solicit your Honor to appoint him adjutant, and continue him ensign, which will induce a very good officer to remain in the regiment. The office of adjutant, Sir, is most necessary to a regiment, in distributing the daily orders, receiving all reports, and seeing orders executed. In short, an adjutant is an indispensable officer. Should you be pleased to indulge me in the request, I shall look upon it in a very particular light, as I think the personal merit of the gentlemen, his knowledge of military duty, and his activity will render him highly worthy of the favor. An ensign is still wanting, whom I hope you will send, if you know of any one suitable for the office. A young man in the camp, who came with Captain Lewis,[53] has solicited, but I am yet ignorant of his character and qualities. He is a volunteer, and recommended by Captain Lewis.

In a letter by Mr. Ward, you acquainted me, that you had given orders to Colonel Fry to examine into the proceedings of Captain Trent, and his lieutenant, Frazier,[54] by a court-martial.

[52] William, Chevalier La Peyronie, an ensign, later a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment; he was wounded at Fort Necessity and killed at the Monongahela.

[53] Capt. George Lewis.

[54] Lieut. John Frazier, who lived at the mouth of Turtle Creek. He was absent from the post when Ensign Ward surrendered to the French.

I shall be glad if you will repeat your orders and instructions to me, or rather to Colonel Innes; for an officer cannot be tried by those of his own regiment only, but has a right to be heard in a general court-martial. Captain Trent's behaviour has been very tardy, and has convinced the world of what they before suspected, his great timidity. Lieutenant Frazier, though not altogether blameless, is much more excusable, for he would not accept of the commission, till he had a promise from his captain, that he should not reside at the fort, nor visit it above once a week, or as he saw necessary.

Queen Aliquippa[55] desired that her son, who is really a great warrior, might be taken into council, as he was declining and unfit for business, and that he should have an English name given him. I therefore called the Indians together by the advice of the Half-King, presented one of the medals, and desired him to wear it in remembrance of his great father, the King of England, and called him by the name of Colonel Fairfax, which he was told signified *the first of the council.* This gave him great pleasure. I was also informed, that an English name would please the Half-King, which made me presume to give him that your Honor, and call him Dinwiddie; interpreted in their language, *the head of all.* I am, &c.

P.S. These deserters corroborate what the others said and we suspected. LaForce's[56] party were sent out as spies, and were to show that summons if discovered, or overpowered, by a superior party of ours. They say the commander was blamed for sending so small a party.

Since writing the aforegoing, Captain Mackay, with the Independent Company, has arrived, whom I take to be a very

[55] Queen Aliquippa, of the Delawares.

[56] La Force, a French subaltern, who was ranging the woods for deserters. Washington knew of this from his Indian scouts, and in May had sent out a small force to find and order La Force to withdraw. La Force afterwards was with Jumonville; was captured and sent to Williamsburg.

good sort of a gentleman. For want of proper instructions from your Honor, I am much at a loss to know how to act, or proceed in regard to his company. I made it my particular study to receive him (as it was your desire) with all the respect and politeness, that were due to his rank, or that I was capable of showing; and I do not doubt from his appearance and behaviour, that a strict intimacy will ensue, when matters shall be put in a clear light. But at present, I assure you, they will rather impede the service, than forward it; for, as they have commissions from the King, they look upon themselves as a distinct body, and will not incorporate and do duty with our men, but keep separate guards, and encamp separately. I have not offered to control Captain Mackay in any thing, nor showed that I claimed a superior command, except in giving the parole and countersign, which must be the same in an army consisting of different nations, to distinguish friends from foes. He knows the necessity of this yet does not think he is to receive it from me. Then who is to give it? Am I to issue these orders to a company? Or is an independent captain to prescribe rules to the Virginia regiment? This is the question. But its absurdity is obvious.

It now behooves you, Sir, to lay your absolute commands on one or the other to obey. This is indispensably necessary, for nothing clashes more with reason, than to conceive our small bodies can act distinctly, without having connexion with one another, and yet be serviceable to the public. I do not doubt that Captain Mackay is an officer of sense, and I dare say will do the best for the service; but, Sir, two commanders are so incompatible, that we cannot be as useful to one another, or the public, as we ought; and I am sincerely sorry, that he has arrived before your instructions by Colonel Innes, who I doubt not will be fully authorized how to act. But as we have no news of

Colonel Innes, I have, in the mean time, desired Major Carlyle to send this by an immediate express to you, who, I hope, will satisfy these doubts.

Captain Mackay and I have lived in the most perfect harmony since his arrival, and have reasoned on this calmly; and, I believe, if we should occasion to exert our whole force, we shall do as well as divided authority can do. We have not had the least warmth of dispute. He thinks you have not a power to give commissions, that will command him. If so, I can very confidently say, that his absence would tend to the public advantage. I have been[57] particularly careful of discovering no foolish desire of commanding him, neither have I intermeddled with his company in the least, or given any directions concerning it, except on these General the Word, Countersign, and place to repair to in case of an Alarm, none of which he thinks he sh'd receive. I have testified to him in the most serious manner the pleasure I sh'd take in consulting and advising with him upon all occasions, and I am very sensible, with him we shall never differ when your Honour decides this, which I am convinced your own just discernment and consideration will make appear, the impossibility of a Med'm. The nature of the thing will not allow of it.[58]

[57] The original from this point is in the *Dinwiddie Papers*. The commencement of the letter is missing and the text of this missing first part is taken from Ford, who seems to have derived it from Sparks. Ford is of opinion that this letter should be dated June 15.

[58] "As I am afraid of disputes from the officers of the Independent companies to prevent that I have ordered Col. Innes to command in chief and you are to be second in command; have sent a brevet commission of Lieut.-Col. to Capt. Clarke to be third in command, and the same to Capt. Mackay to be fourth in command of this expedition, and have desired Col. Innes to allow their Lieutenants to rank with our Captains. This is only feathers in their caps to prevent ill blood in regard to rank."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, June 25. Captain Clarke commanded one of the New York independent companies.—*Ford*. This was ingenuous of Dinwiddie. The trouble-making point was that Mackay, a regular officer in the British Army, refused to take orders from a provincial officer, no matter of what rank. Innes was not a British regular. Washington experienced the same difficulty two years later with Captain Dagworthy.

It must be known who is to Command before orders will be observed, and I am very confident your Honour will see the absurdity and consider the Effects of Capt. Mackay's having the direction of the Regiment, for it would certainly be the hardest thing in Life if we are to do double and trible duty, and neither be entitled to the Pay or Rank of Soldiers. That the first Column of the Virginia Regiment has done more for the Interest of the Expedition than any other Company or Corps that will hereafter arrive, will be obvious to them all. This, Hon'ble Sir, Capt. Mackay did not hesitate one moment to allow since he has seen the Work we have done upon the Roads &c. We shall part tomorrow. I shall continue my March to Red Stone, while the Company remains here; but this, Sir, I found absolutely necessary for the Publick Interest. Capt. Mackay says, that it is not in his power to oblige his Men to work upon the Road, unless he will engage them a Shilling Sterling a Day, which I would not choose to do; and to suffer them to March at their ease, whilst our faithful Soldiers are laboriously employed, carry's an air of such distinction that it is not to be wondered at if the poor fellows were to declare the hardship of it. He also declares to me that this is not particular to his Company only, but that no Soldiers subject to Martial law can be obliged to do it for less. I, therefore, shall continue to compleat the work we have begun with my poor fellows; we shall have the whole credit, as none others have assisted. I hope from what has been said your honour will see the necessity of giving your speedy orders on this head, and I am sensible you will consider the Evil tendency that will accompany Captn. Mackay's com[mandin]g for I am sorry to observe this is what we always hoped to enjoy; the Rank of Officers, which to me, Sir, is much dearer than the Pay.

Captn. Mackay brought none of the Cannon, very little Ammunition, about 5 Days allowance of Flower, and 60 Beeves. Since I have spun a letter to this enormous size, I must go a little further and beg your Honour's patience to peruse it. I am much grieved to find our Stores so slow advancing. God knows when we shall [be] able to do any thing for to deserve better of our Country. I am etc.

The Contents of this Letter is a profound Secret. [V.S.L.]

JOURNAL

SPEECH TO THE INDIANS[59]

On the march to Red Stone, June 18, 1754.

Brethren: We are very glad to see you, and sorry that you are disquieted by such reports that: The English intend to injure you, or any of your allies; this report we know must have been forged by the French, who are always treacherous, and asserting the greatest falsehoods whenever they think they will turn out to their advantage; they speak well, promise fine things, but all from the lips only; whilst their heart is corrupt, and full of venomous poison. You have been their children and they have done everything for you, but they no sooner thought themselves strong enough than they returned to their natural pride and drove you off from your lands, declaring you had no right on the Ohio. The English, your real friends, are too generous to think of ever using the Six Nations, their faithful allies, in such a manner; after you had gone to the Governors of Virginia and Pennsylvania they (at your repeated request) sent an army to maintain your rights; to put you again in possession of your lands, and to take care of your wives and children,

[59] This speech was in answer to a speech of the Indians addressed to the Governor of Virginia by a council of about 40 chiefs of the Six Nations, Loups, and Shawnees. The Half King was present.

to dispossess the French, to maintain your rights and to secure the whole country for you; for these very ends are the English arms now employed; it is for the safety of your wives and your children that we are fighting; and as this is the only motive of our conduct we cannot reasonably doubt of being joined by the rest of your forces to oppose the common enemy. Those who will not join us shall be answerable for whatever may be the consequence, we only desire your brethren to choose the side which seems most acceptable to them. The Indians of the Six Nations are those who have the most interest in this war, for them it is that we fight.; and it would greatly trouble me to do them the least harm; we have engaged in this war to assist and protect you; our arms are open to receive you and our hands ready to feed your families during the war. The Governor of Virginia has often desired that they might be sent to him that he may see them in person, feed and clothe them according to their own desire; but as you could not decide to send them to him, we are ready to share all our provisions with you, in a friendly manner and to take such measures and give such orders that enough shall be brought to maintain your wives and children. Such conduct will evidently prove how much more the English love and esteem their faithful allies the Six Nations, than the French do; as we have drawn the sword in your cause and in your defence, hesitate no longer, delay not a moment, but put all your wives and children under our protection, and they shall find plenty of provisions; in the meanwhile set your young men and your warriors to sharpening their hatchets, to join and unite with us vigorously in our battles. The present, my Brethren, which I offer you is not so considerable as I could wish, but I expect in a short time, a quantity of goods, which are to be at my disposal, to reward those who shall have shown themselves brave and active on this occasion; I shall, moreover recompense them most generously.

Be of good Courage, my brethren, deliver your Country and secure it to your children; let me know the thoughts of your Hearts on this affair, that I may give an account of your sentiments to your great Friend and Brother, the Governor of Virginia. To assure you of my sincerity and esteem I present you this belt of wampum.

June 20, 1754.

The Council still continued.

When the *Delawares* knew that they were suspected of being in the *French* Interest, they demanded the Reason why they had been sent for, and what they should tell the *French* at their Return.

I answered them, it was to let them understand, that we were to come at their reiterated requests to assist them with Sword in Hand; that we intended to put them in the Possession of those Lands which the *French* had taken from them.

And as they had often demanded our Assistance, as our ancient and faithful Allies, I invited them to come and place themselves under our Protection, together with their Women and Children.

* * * * *

On the march to Red Stone, June 21, 1754.

Met very early, and I spoke first to the Delawares in the following manner.

Brethren; By your open and generous conduct on this occasion you have made yourself dearer to us than ever; we return you our thanks, that you did not go to Venango, when the French first invited you there; their treating you in such a childish manner, as we perceive they do, raises in us a just and strong resentment. They call you their children, and speak to you as if you were children in reality and had no more understanding than such. Consider well my brethren, and compare all their speeches, and you will find that all it tends to, is to tell you, I am going to open your eyes, to unstop your ears and

such like words to no purpose, and only proper to amuse children. You also observe brethren that if they deliver a speech, or make a promise, and confirm it with a belt, they imagine it binds them no longer than they think it consistent with their interest to stand to it. They have given one example of it; and I will point it out to you, in the leap which they say they have made over the barrier which you had set for them; which ought to stir you up, my Brethren, to just anger, and cause you to embrace the favourable opportunity that we offer you, as we are come at your request, to assist you, and by means of which, you may make them leap back again with more speed than they advanced. (A string of wampum.) The French are continually telling you not to give heed to ill reports that are told you concerning them, who are your fathers. If they did not know in their very hearts, how richly they deserve it on account of their injustice to you, why should they suspect that they are accused? Why should they take so much care to forewarn you, in order to hinder you from believing what is told you concerning them? As to what they say of us, our conduct alone will answer in our behalf. Examine the truth yourselves. You know the roads leading to our habitations, you have lived amongst us, you can speak our language; but in order to refute whatever may be said against us and to assure you of our brotherly love; we once more invite your old men, your wives and your children, to take refuge under our protection and in our arms, in order to be plentifully fed, whilst your warriors and young men join with ours and espouse together the common cause. (A string of wampum.) Brethren we thank you with all our hearts, for having declared unto us your resolution of accomplishing the engagements which you entered into at the treaty of Logstown[60] and we can do no otherwise than praise

[60] This so-called treaty of Logstown was probably the conference held at that place in 1752 with Shawnees, Mingos, and Delawares, at the instance of Governor Dinwiddie

your generous conduct with regard to your Grandsons the Shawanese; it gives us infinite pleasure. We are greatly obliged for the advice given you by Onondaga, charging you to hold fast the chain of friendship by which we are bound; I dare say, that, had he known, how nearly you were interested in this war, or that it was for love of you, and at your request, that we have taken up arms, he would have ordered you to declare and to act immediately against the common enemy of the Six Nations In order to assure you of my affection, and to confirm the truth of what I have said, I present you with two great strings of wampum.

June 21, 1754.

Immediately after the Council was over, notwithstanding all that Mr. Montour could do to dissuade them, the Delawares as also the Half-King, and all the other Indians returned to the Great Meadows; but though we had lost them, I still had spies of our own people, to prevent any surprise. As I was told that if I sent a belt of wampum and a speech, it might bring back the Half-King and his young men, I sent the following speech by Mr. Croghan:

'Tis but lately since we were assembled together; we were sent here by your Brother the Governor of *Virginia,* at your own Request in Order to succour you, and fight for your Cause; wherefore my Brethren, I must require that you and your young Men come to join and encamp with us, that we may be ready to receive our Brother Monacatoocha, whom I daily expect; That this Request may have its desired Effect, and make a suitable Impression upon your Minds I present you with this String of Wampum.[61]

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and in the interests of the Ohio Company. The Indians confirmed, to an extent, a grant of land made by the Six Nations, west of the Alleghanies, and bound themselves not to molest white settlements on the southwest of the Ohio.

[61] The speech was ineffective. The Indians did not join Washington, for they had seen the weakness of his force and they knew the strength of the French.

The French publication of Washington's journal, *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits,* ends abruptly June 27. Learning that another reenforcement had reached Fort

To WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Alexandria, August 11, 1754.

Honble. Sir: Since my last to you, I have received, by Mr. Splitdorph, the letter therein alluded to, of the 1st Inst. the contents of which are nearly the same with the other received from the Governour four days before dated the 3d Inst. The following is an exact copy of it.

The Council met yesterday, and, considering the present state of our forces, and having reason to think that the French will be reinforced next spring, it was resolved, that the forces should immediately march

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Duquesne, a council of war decided that it was useless to continue the march toward that fort and recommended a retreat, as Washington's force was already dangerously far from support. July 1 the retrograde movement had reached the Great Meadows. A French force from Fort Duquesne was in pursuit of the retreating English, which they overtook July 3. Governor Dinwiddie's report of the ensuing action to the lords of trade is printed by Ford (vol. 1, p. 119), who also prints (pp. 120–121) (in French) the articles of capitulation of Fort Necessity, from the *Mémoires Contenant le Précis des Faits.*

This capitulation has been the subject of much discussion. Article VI recites ". . . ils pourront à cette fin y laisser des gardiens, en tel nombre qu'ils voudrom, avec conditions qu'ils donneront parole d'honneur de ne plus travailler à aucun etablissement dans ce lieu cy, en deça de la hauteur des terres pendant une année a compter de ce jour." The lack of exactness here is evident. The English, permitted to return to the site of Fort Necessity, were not to rebuild the "etablissement," nor to erect fortifications in the surrounding country or beyond the mountains; this restriction could also apply to the force which surrendered and marched off from Fort Necessity; but it is a strained interpretation to insist that this could mean an agreement not to serve against the French for one year; there can be no quibble over the definition of the word "etablissement." There can be no doubt whatever as to the word "l'assassinat" in Article VII. Capt. James Mackay, who signed the capitulation ahead of Washington, by virtue of his claim to superior rank, wrote to the Virginia colonel September 28, "I had several disputes about our capitulation but satisfied every Person that mentioned that subject as to the Artickles in Question, that they were owing to a bad Interperter and Contrary to the translation made to us when we sign'd them." What Washington wrote regarding this follows: "That we were wilfully, or ignorantly, deceived by our interpreter in regard to the word 'assassination,' I do aver, and will to my dying moment; so will every officer that was present. The interpreter was a Dutchman, little acquainted with the English tongue, therefore might not advert to the tone and meaning of the word in English; but, whatever his motives were for so doing, certain it is, he called it the 'death,' or the 'loss,' of the Sieur Jumonville. So we received and so we understood it, until, to our great surprise and mortification, we found it otherwise in a literal translation." (See Sparks's *Writings of Washington,* vol. 2, Appendix, p. 464.)

The *Alexandria Gazette* of July 19, 1754, prints an account of the fight and capitulation at Fort Necessity. It agrees, generally, with Washington's journal, but estimates the French losses at an absurdly high total. The French force is given at 900, Washington's at 300, and the estimate of French dead was 300, one-third of

over the Allegany mountains, either to dispossess the French of their fort, or build one in a proper place, that may be fixed upon by a council of war. Colonel Innis has my orders for executing the above affair. I am therefore, now, to order you to get your regiment completed to 300 men, and I have no doubt, that you will be able to enlist what you are deficient of your number very soon, and march directly to Will's Creek to join the other forces; and, that there may be no delay, I order you to march what companies you have complete, and leave orders with the officers remaining, to follow you, as soon as they shall have enlisted men sufficient to make up their companies. You know, the season of the year calls for dispatch. I depend upon your former usual diligence and spirit, to encourage your people to be active on this occasion. Consult with Maj. Carlyle what ammunition which may be wanted, that I may send it up immediately I trust much to your diligence and dispatch in getting your regiment to Will's Creek as soon as possible.

Colonel Innis will consult you in the appointment of officers for your regiment. Pray consider, if practicable, that, to send a party of Indians &c to destroy the corn at the fort and Logtown would be of great service to us, and a considerable disappointment to the enemy. I can say no more, but to press the dispatch of your regiment to Will's Creek, and that success may attend our arms and just Expedition, is the Sincere desire of, Sir, yours &c.

Thus, Sir, you will see I am ordered, with the utmost dispatch, to repair to Will's Creek with the regiment; to do which, under the present circumstances, is as impracticable, as it is (as far as I can see into the thing) to dispossess the French of their fort; both of which, with our means, are morally impossible.

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the entire attacking force. The *Gazette* further stated that the enemy were burying their dead all night, after the surrender, and that many still remained unburied when daylight came.

The *Pennsylvania Journal* of July 25, 1754, printed a translation of the articles of capitulation and translated Article VI as follows: "And as the English have few oxen or horses, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met with their horses; and that they may for this end have guardians in what number they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour not to work upon any building in this place, or any part this side of the mountain, during a year, to be accounted from this day."

The Governor observes, that, considering the state of our forces at present, it is thought advisable to move out immediately to dispossess the French. Now that very reason, "the state of our forces," is alone sufficiently opposed to the measure, without a large addition to them. Consider, I pray you, Sir, under what unhappy circumstances the men at present are; and their numbers, compared with those of the enemy, are so inconsiderable, that we should be harrassed and drove from place to place at their pleasure. And to what end would the building of a fort be, unless we could proceed as far as Redstone, where we should have to take water, and where the enemy can come with their artillery, &c., I cannot see, unless it be to secure a retreat, which we should have no occasion for, were we to go out in proper force and properly provided, which I aver cannot be done this fall; for, before our force can be collected, with proper stores of provisions, ammunition, working-tools, &c., it would bring on a season in which horses cannot travel over the mountains on account of snows, want of forage, slipperiness of the roads, high waters, &c. neither can men, unused to that life, live there, without some other defence from the weather than tents. This I know of my own knowledge, as I was out last winter from the 1st of Nov'er till some time in January; and notwithstanding I had a good tent, was as properly prepared, and as well guarded, in every respect, as I could be against the weather, yet the cold was so intense, that it was scarcely supportable. I believe, out of the 5 or 6 men that went with me, 3 of them, tho' they were as well clad as they could be, were rendered useless by the frost, and were obliged to be left upon the road.

But the impossibility of supporting us with provisions is alone sufficient to discourage the attempt; for, were commissaries with sufficient funds to set about procuring provisions,

and getting them out, it is not probable that enough can be conveyed out this fall to support us thro' the winter; for you are to consider, Sir, as I before observed, that the snows and hard frosts set in very early upon those mountains; and, as they are in many places almost inaccessible at all times, it is then more than horses can do to clamber up them; but allow that they could, for want of provender they will become weak and die upon the road, as ours did, tho' we carried corn with us for that purpose, and purchased from place to place. This reason holds good, also, against driving out live stock, which, if it could be done, would save some thousands of Horse Loads, that might be employed in carrying flour, (which alone, not to mention ammunition, tools, &c.) we shall find will require more horses, than at this present moment can be procured with our means.

His Honour also asks, whether it is practicable to destroy the corn at the fort and at Log-town? At this question I am a little surprised, when it is known we must pass the French fort and the Ohio to get to Log-town; and how this can be done with inferior numbers, under the disadvantages we labour, I see not; and, of the ground to hope, we may engage a sufficient party of Indians for this undertaking, I have no information, nor have I any conception; for it is well known, that notwithstanding the expresses, that the Indians sent to one another, and all the pains that Montour and Croghon (who, by vainly boasting of their interest with the Indians, involved the country in great calamity, by causing dependance to be placed where there was none,) could take, never could induce above 30 fighting men to join us, and not more than one half of those serviceable upon any occasion.

I could make many other remarks equally true and pertinent; but to you, Sir, who, I am sensible, have acquired a

pretty good knowledge of the country, and who see the difficulties that we labour under in getting proper necessaries, even at Winchester, it is needless: therefore I shall only add some of the difficulties, which we are *particularly* subjected to in the Virginia regiment; and to begin, Sir, you are sensible of the sufferings our soldiers underwent in the last attempt, (in a good season) to take possession of the Fork of the Allegany and Monongahela. You also saw the disorders those sufferings produced among them at Winchester after they returned. They are yet fresh in their memories, and have an irritable effect. Thro' the indiscretion of Mr. Splitdorph, they got some intimation that they were again ordered out, and it immediately occasioned a general clamour, and caused 6 men to desert last night; this, we expect, will be the consequence every night, except prevented by close confinement.

In the next place, I have orders to compleat my regiment, and not a 6d. is sent for that purpose. Can it be imagined, that subjects fit for this purpose, who have been so much impressed with, and alarmed at, our want of provisions, (which was a main objection to enlisting before,) will more readily engage now without money, than they did before with it? We were then from the first of February till the first of May, and could not compleat our 300 men by 40; and the officers suffered so much by having their Recruiting expenses withheld, that they unanimously refuse to engage in that duty again, without they are refunded for the past, and a sufficient allowance made them in future. I have in the next place (to shew the state of the Regiment) sent you a report thereof by which you will perceive what great deficiencies there are of Men, Arms, Tents, Kettles, Screws (which was a fatal want before), Bayonets, Cartouch-Boxes, &c., &c. Again, were our men ever so willing to go, for want of the proper necessaries of life they are unable to do it;

the chief part are almost naked, and scarcely a man has either shoes, stockings, or hat. These things the merchants will not credit them for; the country has made no provision; they have not money themselves; and it cannot be expected, that the officers will engage for them again, personally, having suffered greatly already on this head; especially, now, when we have all the reason in the world to believe, they will desert whenever they have an opportunity. There is not a man that has a Blanket to secure him from cold or wet. Ammunition is a material article, and that is to come from Williamsburg, or wherever the Governor can procure it. An account must be first sent of the quantity which is wanted; this, added to the carriage up, with the necessary Tools, &c., that must be had, as well as the time of bringing them round, will, I believe, advance us into that season, when it is usual, in more moderate climates, to retreat into Winter Quarters, but here, with us, to begin a campaign.[62]

[62] There was a misunderstanding between the governor and the House of Burgesses, which prevented any appropriation of money at this juncture. It had been a custom in former times that when the governor signed a patent for land, he should receive a fee of a pistole (about $3.60) for every such signature, which was a perquisite of his office. This fee had been revived by Governor Dinwiddie, but the House of Burgesses considered it an onerous exaction, and determined to resist it. As the governor refused to sign patents on any other terms, the burgesses had the year before passed some spirited resolves, and sent an agent to England with a petition to the King's Council that this custom might be abolished. The agent was Peyton Randolph, then attorney general of Virginia, and afterwards president of the first American Congress. While he was absent, the governor wrote to a correspondent in England: "I have had a great deal of trouble and uneasiness from the factious disputes and violent heats of a most impudent troublesome party here, in regard to that silly fee of a pistole; they are very full of the success of their agent, which I give small notice to." The attorney general returned, without effecting his whole object, but the board of trade made new regulations, by which relief was afforded in certain cases, and the fee was prohibited except where the quantity of land patented was more than 100 acres. (See *Journal of the House of Burgesses*, November, 1753.)

The agent's expenses were £2,500. The governor refused to sanction any bill for their payment. Piqued by this obstinacy, the House of Burgesses affixed the amount to a bill for raising £20,000 for his Majesty's service. Equally indignant at this presumption, the governor sent back the bill without his signature, and prorogued the assembly for six weeks. Thus no supplies were granted, and the governor was induced to write that "there appeared to him an infatuation in all the assemblies in this part of the world." The treasurer of the colony had already paid the agent by order of the assembly, without any special grant, which was no doubt a high

The promises of those Traders, who offer to contract for large Quantities of flour, are not to be depended upon; a most flagrant instance of which we experienced in Croghan, who was under obligation to Maj. Carlyle for the delivery of this Article in a certain time, and who was an eyewitness to our wants; yet had the assurance, during our sufferings, to tantalize us, and boast of the quantity he could furnish, as he did of the number of Horses he cou'd command; notwithstanding, we were equally disappointed of these also; for out of 200 head he had contracted for, we never had above 25 employed in bringing the flour that was engaged for the Camp; and even this, small as the quantity was, did not arrive within a month of the time it was to have been delivered.

Another thing worthy of consideration, is, if we depend on Indian assistance, we must have a large quantity of proper Indian goods to reward their services, and make them presents; it is by this means alone, that the French command such an interest among them, and that we had so few. This, with the scarcity of Provisions, was proverbial; would induce them to ask, when they were to join us, if we meant to starve them as well as ourselves. But I will have done, and only add assurances of the regard and affect'n with which I am, &c,

To COLONEL JAMES INNES

August 12, 1754.

Hon'ble. Sir: Since writing pr. Express I have consider'd and find it better to delay the other to Wmsburg till you signifie your Sentiments to me on this head, that I may be guided

disrespect to the governor and council. In giving an account of this affair to Governor Sharpe of Maryland, Governor Dinwiddie said: "I am now persuaded that no expedition can be conducted here with dependence on American assemblies; and I have written to that purpose home, and propose a British act of Parliament to compel the subjects here to obedience to his Majesty's commands, and to protect their property from the insults of the French."—*Sparks.*

thereby, and write nothing inconsistent with what you represent or advise: I should therefore hope you will acquaint me fully with your Opinion of this Affair, and send your dispatches (if any to the Governour) by the return of this Messenger, to take the same conveyance with mine that goes by an Officer who I shall send to receive the needful for Recruiting. If you think it advisable to order me in the shatter'd Condition we are in to March up to you, I will, if no more than ten Men follows me (which I believe will be the full amount) if it is agreeable to you I should be glad to know what State your Regiment is in as I hear some of your Men are infected with the same disorder's that our's are possess'd off. I am etc.

I forgot to mention in my last the great difficulty of getting Waggons, that cannot be removed but by purchasing enough for that use. When we were out I sent express after express, and desir'd to have the Artillery sent and was answer'd that Waggon cou'd not be hired for 5 times the Value.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, August 20, 1754.

Sir: Mr. Peyrouny, soliciting for leave to attend the Assembly, with the hope of having some allowance made for his loss of Cloaths, &c., which he sustained in common with us all, and being not thoroughly cured of his Wounds,[63] which has hitherto rendered him unfit for Duty, I thought it proper to indulge him in this request and he now comes for these purposes aforesaid By him I again take the Liberty of reminding your Honour of the great necessity there is of a regulation in the Soldiers' pay, and that a deduction be made for the Country to furnish them with cloathes; otherwise they never will be fit for Service;

[63] Wounded at Fort Necessity.

they are now Naked, and cannot get credit even for Hatts and are teazing the Officers every Day to furnish them with these and other necessarys.

Another thing, which should be fixed indisputably, is the Law we are to be guided by; whether Martial or Military. If the former, I must beg the favour of your Honour to give me some written orders and indemnification; otherwise I cannot give my assent (as I am liable for all the proceedings) to any judgment of the Martial Court, that touches the Life of a Soldier; tho' at this time there is an absolute necessity for it, as the Soldiers are deserting constantly. Yesterday, while we were at Church, 25 of them collected, and were going off in the Face of there Officers, but were stop'd and Imprisoned before the plot came to its full hight.

Colo. Innes did not fill up any Commissions for the Virginia Regiment, which has given those that were entitled to promotion some uneasiness; his reasons were, that it would be an unnecessary expense to the Country, till there were orders to recruit; this, I think, should not have been considered, while it is remember'd who [how] small encouragement is shewn them upon every occasion. Another motive, which, I believe, served to prevent it, was his dislike to the tenour of the Commissions, as it savoured so much of the Militia. He told me he would send down another for your Approbation, and Colo. Fairfax has also taken another, both of which is greatly preferable to those by which we act. And here I must beg leave to acquaint your Honour that the one you sent me is not signed.

The Officers are uneasy about their Pay, and think it hard to be kept out of it so long; they hope your Honour will order that the dates of their Commissions be from the vacancy's that happen'd, of which I have enclosed a list for information, hoping with them, your Honour will be kind enough to fill

them up yourself, and send such Commissions as were sent for Precedents.

Mr. West, Lieut. of Vanbraam's Company, has resigned his commiss'n, which I herewith send. I also inclose a List of Medicines, which the Doct'r desires may be procured for the use of the Regiment. He solicits much for a Mate, and I believe it necessary, as he often has more business than he can well manage, then were a large Detacht. sent upon Duty, it would be imprudent to go without a Surgeon.

If your Honour should think proper to promote Mr. Peyrouney, we shall be at a loss for a good Disciplinarian to do Adjutant's Duty, wch requires a perfect knowledge of all kinds of the Duty. I should, therefore, take it extreamely kind, if you would be pleased to confer the Office upon Mr. Frazier,[64] who I think I can fully answer for, let his former conduct be what it will.

We have catch'd two Deserters, which I keep imprisoned till I receive your Honour's answer how far the Martial Law may be extended, and it is absolutely necessary that an Example be made of some, for warning to others; for there is scarce a Night, or an oppertunity, but what some or other are deserting, often two, three, or 4 at a time. We always advertise and pursue them as quickly as possible, but seldom to any purpose; the expences attending this will fall heavy upon the Country while this Spirit prevails. I am, &c. [V.H.S.]

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, August 21, 1754.

Hon'ble Sir: The bearer hereof, Mr. Wright[65] discovering an Inclination to the Art Military, and having, in some Measure, made it his Study, I have taken the liberty to recommend him

[64] John Frazier (?), a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment.
[65] Ford thinks this was William Wright, who was killed at the Monongahela.

to your Honour for one of the Vacancy's in the Virginia regiment; this I do with more assurance of succedding, as Mr. Wright's Character for good Sense and Sobriety will render him worthy the favour you may please to confer and I dare venture to say, he will endeavour to deserve.

Yesterday Mr. Peyroney set off from this; who I hope will also meet with your Honour's approbation and indulgence, as his behaviour has merited a reward from his Country (such he looks upon this to be). Mr. Campbell[66] arriv'd Yesterday, after appointing the Musters for the Northern Neck. I was not a little surpris'd to hear him say he was to have Half of my Salary, especially when he at the same time gave me to understand he expected it was the half of the 70 [£], exclusive of the 30 [£] which he has for his two County's which is near a third of what I get for the whole 11 Countys; a great disporportion this. I hope your Honour gave Mr. Campbell no room to expect this, for I think it exceedingly hard that I shou'd give so much more for a deputy than others, especially when the duty is much easier. For the Middle district which has 10 Countys; Muse gives but 40£; Colo. Thorton[67] gives yet less for his while I, by Mr. Campbell's account is to give 65£, or at any rate 50£. I hope, if your Honour is kind enough to continue me in that office, you will not oblige me to give such an exhorbitant allowance to a Person who, by all acc't knows nothing of the duty he has undertaken. I can get a Person whom I have taken great pains myself to teach, and who is perfectly acquainted with every part of the Service, to do the duty of the whole for the same that others give, and I shou'd be very glad for the sake of having the Countys kept in tolerably discipline, and for the favour of obliging me, your Honour wou'd indulge me in this, as I will engage it shall turn more to the Publick advantage,

[66] Colin Campbell, deputy adjutant of the Northern Neck. Washington's cash account for 1754 shows that he paid Campbell £25 for the last half of that year.

[67] Col. John Thornton, of Spotsylvania.

whose Interest I am certain from well founded Reasons, you espouse, preferable to that of private. I am with all due regard, and imaginable respect, your Honour's, etc.

I must again mention Mr. Frazier as a person we shall much need if Mr. Peyroney is promoted, as I hope he will [be].

[V.H.S.]

*To THOMAS LEE[68]

August , 1754.

Sir: Your desire, added to my own curiosity engaged me the last time I was in Frederick to return down by Water to discover the Navigation of Potomack; the following are the observations I made thereupon in that Trip. From the mouth of Paterson's Creek to the begg. of Shannondoah Falls there is no other obstacle than the shallowness of the Water to prevent Craft from passing. The first of those Falls is also even and shallow but swift and continues so with interruptions of Rocks to what is known by the Spout wch. is a mile and half; from this their is Rocky swift and very uneven water for near 6 Miles, in which distance there are 4 Falls, the first of which is tolerably clear of Rocks but shallow yet may be much amended by digging a Channel on the Maryland side abt. 2 Miles from this, and ½ Mile below the Mouth of Shannondoah is what they call the Spout, which is the great (and indd. almost the only) difficulty of the whole it has a considerable Fall the water being confined shoots with great Rapidity and what adds much to the difficulty is the bottom being exceeding

[68] Thomas Lee, at one time president of the Virginia council and holder of two shares in the original Ohio Company of 1748. John Hanbury & Co., of London, of whom Washington later purchased Mount Vernon supplies, was a shareholder, as was also Governor Dinwiddie and Augustine and Lawrence Washington. The original of this letter is in the archives of the Wisconsin Historical Society and is a draft in Washington's writing, drawn up from notes which he made at the time and transcribed alongside of a sketch of the Potomac in that location. The letter is practically a duplication of these notes, which are also in the Wisconsin archives.

Rocky occasions a Rippling so prodigious that none but boats or large Canoes can pass. The canoe I was in wh'ch was not small had near sunk having received much water on both sides and at the hd. Their may be a passage also got round this also upon the Maryland shoar that Vessels may be hald up after removing some Rocks which a moderate expence may accomplish. One of the other two Falls is swift and ugly not much unlike the Spout but when the River is higher than ordinary a passage may be had round a small Island on the Other side which passage may be greatly improved. abt. 8 miles below this there is another Fall which is very easy and passable and abt. 2 Miles from that is a cluster of small Islands with many Rocks and swift water which renders the passage somewhat precarious. From this to the Seneca Fall the Water is as smooth and even as can be desir'd, with scarcely any perceptable Fall. The Seneca Fall is easily pass'd in two places and Canoes may continue within two Miles of the Gt. Falls but further it is not possible therefore the *trouble and expence* of going up Seneca Falls will not be adiquite to the expence and trouble [and] will not answer the Charges as all Carriages for the benefits of a good Road are oblig'd to pass Difficult Bridge from whence it is but 8 Miles to the Landing place at the Sugarland Island and is 5 Miles to the Lowest landing that can be h'd below the afores'd Falls of Seneca. Thus Sir as far as I was capable, have I given you an acct. of the Conveniences and inconveniences that attend the Navigation of Potomack fr'm the Fall up, which I doubt but you will readily concur with me in judging it more convenient least expensive and I may further say by much the most expeditious way to the Country. There is but one objection that can obviate this Carriage and that is the Scarcity of water in the best season of the year for this kind of conveyance. [W.H.S.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

[September.]

Hon'ble Sir: As I wrote so lately and fully to you, by Mr. Polson,[69] on the subject of the Orders I had received, I have little to add now, only to acquaint your Honour, that as far as it is in my power, I shall endeavour to comply with them: what Men we can, we do enlist; but to send Officers into different parts for that purpose, would be unavailing, as they neither have money, nor can get any. I have given Maj. Carlyle memorandums of several Questions to ask your Honour, to which I beg your answers, that I may be governed thereby. I have also sent some of the soldiers' accounts, in hope of getting the money for them, as they are uneasy on that head. There are others of them that are rendered useless by their late wounds; therefore I hope you will recommend it to the consideration of the Assembly, that some provision may be made to keep them from want.

I have also desired Maj. Carlyle to mention to your Honour the great necessity there is for regulation in the Soldiers' pay; and that a certain part may be deducted and appropriated for clothing: unless this be done, we shall ever be in the distressed condition we are in at present, of which Maj. Carlyle can fully inform you, and to whom I shall refer your Honour for many particulars, especially the consequences of going as high as Will's Creek, if we cannot march farther; as, for the reasons which have been alledged, I fear we cannot, were we attempt it; and, at that place, for want of proper conveniences, we could not remain. I have the honor to be, &c.[70]

[69] William Polson.

[70] When the assembly met in October it granted £20,000 for the public exigencies, and the governor received from England £10,000 sterling in specie, with the promise of £10,000 more, and 2,000 firearms. Thereupon he resolved to enlarge the army to 10 companies, of 100 men each, and to reduce them all to independent companies, by which there would be no officer in the Virginia Regiment above the rank

To THE SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

Williamsburg, October 23, 1754.

Sir: Nothing could have given me, and the Officers under my command, greater satisfaction, than to have received the thanks of the House of Burgesses, in so particular and honourable a manner, for our Behaviour in the late unsuccessful Engagement with the French at the Great Meadows; and we unanimously hope, that our future Conduct in the Service of our Country may entitle us to a continuance of its approbation. I assure you, Sir, I shall always look upon it as my indispensable duty, to endeavour to deserve it.

I was desired, by the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, to offer their grateful thanks for the Honour which has been confered upon them; and hope the enclosed will be indulgently received, and answer their, and the intended purpose of, Sir, Your most etc.

To THE SPEAKER, AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

We, the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, are highly sensible of the particular Mark of Distinction, with which you have honoured Us, in returning your Thanks for our Behaviour in the late Action; and can not help testifying our grateful

of captain. This expedient, he supposed, would remedy the difficulties about command. Washington accordingly resigned, as he would not accept a lower commission than the one he had held.—*Sparks.*

The plan of military operations agreed upon in a conference at Williamsburg between Governors Dinwiddie, Dobbs, of North Carolina, and Sharpe, of Maryland, is printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers,* vol. 1, p. 351. It appears to be Dinwiddie's plan, and specifically includes the independent companies, which, of course, was the cause of the rank controversy and Washington's resignation.

Acknowldgments for your high *sense* of what We shall always esteem a Duty to our Country and the best of Kings.

Favoured with your Regard, We shall zealously endeavour to deserve your Applause, and, by our future Actions, strive to convince the Worshipful House of Burgesses, how much We Esteem their Approbation; and, as it ought to be, Regard *it*, as the Voice of our Country.

Signed for the whole Corp,[71]

To COLONEL WILLIAM FITZHUGH[72]

Belvoir, November 15, 1754.

Dear Sir: I was favored with your letter from Rousby Hall, of the 4th instant. It demands my best acknowledgements for the particular marks of Esteem you have expressed therein; and for the kind assurances of his Excellency Governour Sharpe's good wishes towards me. I also thank you, and sincerely, Sir, for your friendly intention of making my situation easy, if I return to the service; and I do not doubt, could I submit to the Terms, that I should be as happy under your command, in the absence of the General, as under any gentleman's whatever: but I think, the disparity between the present offer of a Company, and my former Rank, too great to expect any real

[71] At this point in the record "Letter Book No. 1," *Washington Papers,* pages 10, 11, 12, and 13 are blank. It was evidently the intention to enter here Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, resigning his commission, the draft of which could not be located in 1784–85, the year in which the letters were copied into this volume. No copy of the resignation has as yet come to light.

[72] Governor Sharpe, of Maryland, had been commissioned by the King as commander in chief of all the forces to be used against the French. Colonel Fitzhugh of Rousby Hall, near the mouth of the Patuxent River, Md., was second in rank and commanded in the absence of Governor Sharpe. Brock thinks him a grandson of the emigrant William Fitzhugh, of Stafford, Va. Sharpe wished to bring Washington back into the service and Fitzhugh wrote persuasively to Washington (November 4): "I am confident, that the General has a very great regard for you, and will by every circumstance in his power make you very happy. For my part, I shall be extremely fond of your continuing in the service, and would advise you by no means to quit it. In regard to the Independent Companies, they will in no shape interfere with you, as you will hold your post during their continuance here, and. when the regiment is reduced, will have a separate duty."

satisfaction or enjoyment in a Corps, where I once did, or thought I had a right to, command; even if his Excellency had power to suspend the orders received in the Secretary of War's Letter; which, by the by, I am very far from thinking he has, or will attempt to do, without fuller Instructions than I believe he has; especially, too, as there has been a representation of this matter by Govenour Dinwiddie, and, I believe, the Assembly of this State; we have advices that it was received before Deurmarree[73] obtained his Letter.

All that I presume the General can do, is, to prevent the different Corps from interfering, which will occasion the Duty to be done by Corps, instead of Detachments; a very inconvenient way, as is found by experience.[74]

You make mention in your letter of my continuing in the Service, and retaining my Colo's Commission. This idea has filled me with surprise; for if you think me capable of holding a commisson that has neither rank nor emolument annexed to it, you must entertain a very contemptible opinion of my weakness, and believe me to be more empty than the Commission itself.

Besides, Sir, if I had time, I could enumerate many good reasons, that forbid all thoughts of my Returning; and which to you, or any other, would, upon the strictest scrutiny, appear to be well-founded. I must be reduced to a very low Command, and subjected to that of many who have acted as my inferior Officers. In short, every Captain, bearing the King's Commission, every half-pay Officer, or other, appearing with

[73] Capt. Paul Demere (?).

[74] That is, the independent and Colonial companies must always act separately and not in concert by detachments from each. The inconvenience of this method was proved in the case of Captain Mackay, previous to the battle of the Great Meadows. Colonel Innes, at Wills Creek, contrived to keep up a nominal command by acting under two commissions, his old one from the King, received in the former war, and his new one from Govcrnor Dinwiddie, to each of which he appealed as occasion required.

such a commission, would rank before me; for these reasons, I choose to submit to the loss of Health which I have, however, already sustained, (not to mention that of Effects,) and the fatigue I have undergone in our first Efforts; rather than subject myself to the same inconveniences, and run the risque of a second disappointment.

I shall have the consolation of knowing, that I have opened the way when the smallness of our numbers exposed us to the attacks of a Superior Enemy; that I have hitherto stood the heat and brunt of the Day, and escaped untouched in time of extreme danger; and that I have the Thanks of my Country, for the Services I have rendered it.

It shall not sleep in silence, my having received information that those peremptory Orders from Home, which, you say could not be dispensed with, for reducing the Regiments into Independent Companies, were generated, hatched and brought from Will's Creek. Ingenuous treatment and plain dealing, I at least expected.[75] It is to be hoped the project will answer; it shall meet with my acquiescence in every thing except personal Services. I herewith enclose Governour Sharp's Letter, which I beg you will return to him, with my Acknowledgments for the favour he intended me, assure him, Sir, as you truly may, of my reluctance to quit the Service, and of the pleasure I should have received in attending his Fortunes, also inform him, that it was to obey the call of Honour, and the

[75] Governor Dinwiddie wrote to the Earl of Halifax (October 25): "As there have been some disputes between the regulars and the officers appointed by me, I am now determined to reduce our regiment into Independent Companies, so that from our forces there will be no other distinguished officer above a captain." It is clear, therefore, that this was done at the governor's own motion, probably in concert with Governor Sharpe, and not by any orders which had as yet been received from higher authority. Dinwiddie could plead the Carthagena expedition as a precedent; but the memory of the treatment received by the Colonial troops on that expedition was not soothing to the Colonies. Washington resigned in October because of this fantastic scheme which would have placed him under officers whom he had formerly commanded.

advice of my Friends, I declined it, and not to gratify any desire I had to leave the military line. My inclinations are strongly bent to arms.

The length of this, and the small room I have left, tell me how necessary it is to conclude, which I will do as you always shall find me. Truly and sincerely etc.

*To ROBERT ORME[76]

Mount Vernon, March 15, 1755.

Sir: I was not favoured with your agreeable Letter, (of the 2d) till yesterday, acquainting me with the notice his Excellency, is pleased to honour me with, by kindly desiring my Company in his Family Its true, Sir, I have, ever since I declined a command in this Service express'd and Inclination to serve the Ensuing Campaigne as a Volunteer; and this believe me Sir, is not a little encreased, since its likely to be conducted by a Gentleman of the General's great good Character;

But beside this, and the laudable desire I may have to serve, (with my poor abilitys) my King and Country, I must be ingenuous enough to confess, I am not a little biass'd by selfish and private views. To be plain Sir, I wish for nothing more earnestly than to attain a small degree of knowledge in the Military Art: and believing a more favourable oppertunity cannot be wished than serving under a Gentleman of his Excellencys known ability and experience, it will, you must reasonably, imagine not a little contribute to influence me in my choice. But, Sir, as I have taken the liberty so far to observe that freely, I shall beg your Indulgence yet a little longer, while

[76] Robert Orme was a lieutenant in the Coldstream Guards, who accompanied Braddock to Virginia as an aide, with the rank of captain. He was wounded at the Monongahela; returned to England, and resigned from the army. He married the only daughter of Charles, Viscount Townshend. His journal of the Braddock expedition was printed by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania in 1855.

I say, that the only bar that can check me in the pursuit of these my desires is the inconveniences that must necessarily arise on some proceedings in a late space—(I mean before the General's arrival) had in some measure abated the edge of my Intentions and determined me to lead a life of greater inactivety, and into which I was just entering at no small expence, the business whereof must greatly suffer in my absence.

I shall do myself the pleasure of waiting upon his Excellency, so soon as I hear of his arrival at Alexandria, (and wou'd sooner, was I certain where) till which I shall decline saying further on this head; begging you'll be kind enough to assure him, that I shall always retain a grateful Sense of the favour he was kindly pleas'd to offer me, and that I should have embraced this oppertunity of writing to him, had I not some little time ago wrote a congratulatory Letter on his safe arrival &c. And as I flatter myself, you will favour me in communicating my Sentiments herein, it will need no other mentn. or reptition.

You do me a singular favour, in proposing an acquaintance which cannot but be attended with the most agreeable Intimacy on my side; as you may already experience, by the familiarity and freedom with which I now assume to treat you; a freedom, which, even if disagreeable, you'll excuse, as I shall lay the whole blame at your door, for encouraging me to thro' lack of that formality which otherwise might have appeard in my deportment, on this occasion.

The hope of shortly seeing you will be an excuse for my not adding more than that I shall endeavour to approve myself worthy your friendship, and that beg to be esteem'd your most Obedient Servant[77]

[77]The text is from the first letter in a small volume labeled "Letter Book Relating to Braddock's Defeat." It contains 48 letters and 1 or 2 memoranda, all in Washington's writing, and dates from Mar. 15, 1755, to December 6 of that year. It was this volume that drew from a well-known American author and scholar the comment that "Perhaps the most touching proof of his [Washington's] own self-depreciation was

*To ROBERT ORME

Mount Vernon, April 2, 1755.

Dear Sir: The arrival of a good deal of Company (among whom is my Mother, alarm'd with the report of my attending your Fortunes) prevents me the pleasure of waiting upon you to day as I intended;[78] therefore I beg you'll be kind enough to make my compliments and excuse to the Genrl., who I

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something he did when he had become conscious that his career would be written about. Still in his possession were the letter-books in which he had kept copies of his correspondence while in command of the Virginia Regiment between 1754 and 1759, and late in life he went through these volumes, and, by interlining corrections, carefully built them into better literary form."

Ford, in his edition of the *Writings of Washington* (vol. 1, p. xx), says: "The changes he [Washington] made at a late period of his life are so distinctive, both in form of letters and the colors of the ink, as to make an error of date impossible." The proper explanation of the matter is, simply, that after Washington returned to Mount Vernon in 1783 and had an opportunity to examine the magnificent piece of work done by Richard Varick in transcribing his Revolutionary War letters, the idea of preserving all his letters in book form seems to have crystallized. The earliest letters were these Braddock-campaign epistles and a casual perusal of them showed Washington the necessity of clarifying his youthful redundancy of expression and simplifying his involved thought, so that Robert Lewis could do the copying without making continual appeals for decisions as to punctuation and meaning. This is the common-sense view of the matter, when romance is rigorously excluded. Because of the value of the original texts as a record of Washington's letter-writing ability in his early twenties, a great deal of time and trouble has been given to deciphering them. The task was difficult, as the heavy ink of 30 years later has almost obliterated that of 1755, and in some instances Washington scraped off the original with a knife; but the texts here printed are Washington's letters as he wrote them at the time. The changes made at the later period were incorporated by Lewis in the letter-book record and were adopted by Ford, after deliberate consideration, in his edition of the *Writings* and have been followed by all others. His text should be compared with this edition for comparison as to the improvement of Washington's style and etymology in the course of 30 years.

[78] General Braddock landed in Virginia on February 20. The transports with the British troops, who were to act under him, came into the Chesapeake soon afterwards. These he ordered up the Potomac to Alexandria, or, as it was then sometimes called, Bellhaven, where the troops debarked. Five companies were cantoned there, one company was stationed at Dumfries, six companies at Fredericksburg and Falmouth, three and a half companies at Winchester, and half a company at Conococheague. In Maryland one company was cantoned at Bladensburg, another at Upper Marlboro, and two at Frederick. Some of the troops were landed below Alexandria, at the nearest point to Fredericksburg. The general remained at Williamsburg, planning with the governor preparations for the approaching campaign.

The following order of the King, dated at St. James, Nov. 12, 1754, respecting the rank of Colonial officers, was brought out by General Braddock: "All troops serving by commission signed by us, or by our general commanding in chief in North

hope to hear is greatly recover'd from his indisposition; and recruited sufficiently to prosecute his journ'y. to Annopolis.

I find myself much embarrass'd with my Affairs; having no person in whom I can confide, to entrust the management with. Yet, under these disadvantages and circumstances, I am determined to do myself the honour of accompanying you with this proviso only, that the General will be kind enough to permit my return, so soon as the [?] or grand Affair is over, (if desir'd). Or, if there should be any space of inaction

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America, shall take rank before all troops, which may serve by commission from any of the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being. And it is our further pleasure, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops shall have no rank with the general and field officers, who serve by commission from us; but that all captains and other inferior officers of our forces, who are or may be employed in North America, are, on all detachments, courts-martial, and other duty, wherein they may be joined with officers serving by commission from the governors, lieutenant or deputy governors, or president for the time being of the said provinces, to command and take post of the said provincial officers of the like rank, though the commissions of the said provincial officers of like rank should be of elder date."

Since his resignation in October, Colonel Washington had remained inactive at Mount Vernon. General Braddock, knowing his value and the importance of securing his services to the expedition, directed Mr. Orme, his aide-de-camp, to write to him the following letter, the original of which is in the *Washington Papers,* proposing an expedient by which the chief obstacles of rank would be removed.

"Williamsburg, 2 March, 1755.

"Sir: The general, having been informed that you expressed some desire to make the campaign, but that you declined it upon some disagreeableness that you thought might arise from the regulations of command, has ordered me to acquaint you, that he will be very glad of your company in his family, by which all inconveniences of that kind will be obviated. I shall think myself very happy to form an acquaintance with a person so universally esteemed, and shall use every opportunity of assuring you how much I am, Sir, your most obedient servant.

"Robert Orme, Aid-de-camp."

—*Sparks.*

Captain Orme was with the army at Alexandria, 9 miles from Mount Vernon. Soon after General Braddock arrived in Virginia he wrote (March 10) to the governors of Massachusetts, New York, and Pennsylvania, requesting them to meet him at Annapolis in Maryland to concert measures for future operation. The general, Commodore Keppel, and Governor Dinwiddie proceeded to Annapolis, but the place of meeting was afterwards changed to Alexandria, where they all assembled on April 13 and concerted measures for the united action of the middle and northern colonies. The minutes of this council are printed in *Documentary History of New York,* vol. 2, p. 376. It was thought by some that New York ought to be the center of operations, as affording greater facilities for attacking the French at their strongest points, but Braddock's instructions were positive for him to proceed to the Ohio. He marched from Alexandria on April 20.—*Sparks.*

long enough to admit of a visit (for otherwise I coud by no means obtain my own consent, what ever private losses I might sustain) to endulge me therein and I need not add, how much I should be obliged by joining at Wills Creek only,[79] for this the General has kindly promised. These things Sir, however unwarrantable they may appear at first sight, I hope will not be taken amiss when its consider'd how unprepar'd I am at present to quit a Family, and Estate scarcely settled, and in the utmost confusion.[80]

I have inclos'd you a letter from Colo. Fairfax to Governour Shirley,[81] which with his Compliments, he desir'd might be given to Mr. Shirley: He also sends his Blessing to you, and desires you may be a good boy and deserve them [?] at present he entertains those pleasing, and sanguine hopes that a dutiful and worthy Son shou'd expect from the most paternal fondness of an endulgent Father, this for your comfort. I herewith send you a small Chart of the back Country, which tho' imperfect and roughly drawn (for want of proper utensils) may, not withstanding, give you a better knowledge of these parts than that you have hitherto had an oppurtunity of acquiring.[82]

I shall do myself the honour of waiting upon the General so soon as I hear of his return from Annopolis. My Compliments attends him, Mr. Shirley &c. And I am Sir etc.

[79] In reply Captain Orme wrote: "The general orders me to give you his compliments and to assure you his wishes are to make it agreeable to yourself and consistent with your affairs, and, therefore, he desires you will so settle your business at home as to join him at Will's Creek if more convenient to you; and, whenever you find it necessary to return, he begs you will look upon yourself as entirely master, and judge what is proper to be done."

[80] Lawrence Washington's estate, which included, of course, Mount Vernon. From 1755 on, for several years, Washington paid a yearly rent for Mount Vernon to Col. George Lee, who had married Lawrence Washington's widow, Ann Fairfax.

[81] Gov. William Shirley, of Massachusetts, commander in chief of the British operations in the Colonies.

[82] This map has not come to light. It was probably destroyed with the baggage lost at the Monongahela and Dunbar's retreat.

*To JOHN ROBINSON[83]

Mount Vernon, April 20, 1755.

Dear Sir: I little expected when I wrote you last I shou'd so soon engage in another Campaigne; but in this I hope I may be allow'd to claim some small share of merit; if it is consider'd that the sole motive wch. invites me to the Field, is the laudable desire of servg. my Country; and not for the gratification of any lucrative ends; this, I flatter myself, will manifestly appear by my going a Volunteer, without expectation of reward, or prospect of attaining a Command; as I am confidantly assur'd it is not in Genl. Braddocks power to give a Comn. that I wou'd accept. Perhaps with any other, the above declaration might be look'd upon as a piece of self sufficient merit; which, being unwilling to loose, I choose to proclaim it myself; but by you Sir, I hope it will be taken in a different light, who seem'd to sympathize in my disappointments, and lent your friendly Aid to reinstate me in a suitable Command; which mark of your approbation was not lost upon one who is always sensible off and ready to acknowledge an obligation; and this is the reason why I am so much more expressive in my Sentiments to you than I shou'd choose be to the World, whose Censures and Criticisms often place the best design's in the worst light; and but, to be ingenuous, I must confess I had other Intentions in writing and if there is any merit in going out upon such terms as I do I was unwilling to loose it among my Friends, who I did not doubt might be made to believe I had some advantageous offers that engaged my services, when in reality it is very far from it; for I expect to be a considerable looser in my private Affairs by going. Its true, I have been importuned to make this Campaigne by Genl. Braddock in his Family who I suppose, imagined that the small knowledge I have had an opportunity of acquiring of

[83] Speaker of the Virginia House of Delegates and treasurer of the colony.

the Country, Indians, &c. worthy of his notice; and therefor thought I might become useful to him in the progress of this Expedition.

Colo. Carter Burwell the last Assembly, upon hearing that I had lost 50 odd pounds during my appt. as Paymaster, desir'd I wd. petition the Committee to have it refunded: assurg. me at the same time that he wou'd solicit the Gentn. in my behalf. I declined it then thinking it might not be well received, as I had been allowed a Comn.; but if he shou'd propose it at a future meeting, and it does not appear to carry a face of unreasonableness, I hope you will do me the favour to 2d. him. I must own after meeting with the indulgencies I did, I sh'd. not have ask'd this, had it not been proposed by a Member; and had I not been so considerable a looser before in the Service, loosg. many valuable Papers, cloathing, Horses and sevl. other things; some of which, and of no inconsiderable value, I car'd out entirely for the publick use, and forbore mentg. of it till this as I knew you were greatly Pester'd with complaints of this sort from Officers that were less able to bear them, tho' their losses are much more inconsiderable than mine, for I had unfortunately got my baggage from Wills Creek but a few days before the Engagemt. in wch. I also had a valuable Servt. Wounded, who died in a few days after. I thought it expedient just to mention these Facts that you might turn them to any advantage you see proper, or to drop it altogether, if you think they be unreasonable. I heartily wish a happy Issue to all your Resolves, &c.

*To WILLIAM BYRD

Mount Vernon, April 20, 1755.

Dr. Sir: I was sorry it was not in my power to wait upon you at Westover last Christmas. I had enjoy'd much satisfaction in the thought when an unexpected accident put it entirely out of

my power to comply either with my promise, or Inclination; both of which equally urg'd me to make the Visit.

I am now preparing for, and shall in a few days sett off, to serve in the ensuing Campainge; with different views from what I had before; for here, if I can gain any credit, or if I am entitled to the least countenance and esteem, it must be from serving my Country with a free, Voluntary will; for I can very truly say, I have no expectation of reward but the hope of meriting the love of my Country and friendly regard of my acquaintances; and as to any prospect of obtaining a Comn. I have none, and am pretty well assur'd it is not in Genl. Braddock's to give such a one as I wou'd accept off as I am told a Compa. is the highest Comn. that is now vested in his gift. He disir'd my Company this Campainge, has honoured me with particular marks of Esteem, and kindly invited me into his Family; which will ease me of that expence, which otherwise wou'd undoubtedly have accrued in furnishing a proper Camp Provision; whereas the expence will now be easy, (comparatively speaking) as baggage Horses, tents and some other necessarys will constitute the whole of the charge tho' I mean to say to leave a Family just settling, and in the utmost confusion and disorder (as mine is in at present) will be the means of my using my private Fortune very greatly, but however this may happen, it shall be no hindrance to my making this Campaigne. I am Sir with very g't esteem, etc.

*To CARTER BURWELL[84]

Mount Vernon April 20, 1755.

Sir: From the goodness of your offer last Assembly, I flatter myself you will be kind enough to acquaint the Gentlemen of the Committee (at this meeting) with the loss I sustained

[84] Chairman of the military committee of the House of Burgesses.

during my Appointment as Paymaster to the Virginia Forces (either by Robery or neglect of charging) and so far favour my Pretenions, as to solicit them in my behalf, which I am convinced will be the means of them refunding me the money I lost to the amount of 50 odd pounds. I shou'd not have presum'd to ask this fav. (nor shall I in any shape urge it) as the Gentlemen were so kind to grant me an allowance for my trouble if I had not, in other respects, suffered considerably in the Service; for besides the loss of many valuable Paper's, a valuable Servant who died a few days after of his Wounds, my wearing Apparel, Books, Horses &c. which amounted to no trifling Sum in the whole, and in which I alone suffer'd by being the only person who got their things out a few days before the Engagement I say not to mention the above things, I lost at the time a very valuable and uncommon Circumportor calculated not only for Superficial Measure, but for taking of Altitudes, and other useful purposes which I carried out solely for the Public use imagining it necessary for laying of Grounds for Forti'ns. &c. I also lost many other things w'ch I sd. have receiv'd and sh'd have mention'd in a Publick way upon my first comg. in, had I not become Sensible of the Genl. was pretty much pester'd with complaints of this sort from several of the Officers whose losses, tho' I knew were greatly inferiour to mine, yet I also knew they were less able to bear them, and this motive alone prevented me from mentg. any thing relating to myself, on this hd. till now, when I hope you will be kind enough to serve me.

I am just ready to embark a 2d. time in the Service of my Country; to merit whose regard and esteem, is the sole motive that induces me to make this Campaigne; for I can very truly say I have no views, either of profitting or rising in the Service, as I go a Volunteer, witht. rank or Pay, and am certain it is not in Genl. Braddocks power to give a Comn. that I wd. accept; I

might add, that so far from being serviceable I am thoroughly convinced it will prove very detrimental to my private Affairs, as I shall have a Family scarcely Settled, and in gt. disorder but however prejudicial this may be, it shall not stop me from going. A happy Issue to all your resolves is most sincerely wish'd by Sir etc.

*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Mount Vernon, April 23, 1755.

Dear Sir: I cannot think of quitting Fairfax[85] without embracing this last opportunity of bidding you farewell. I this day set out for Wills Creek, where I expect to meet the Gen'l. and to stay, I fear too long, as our March must be regulated by the slow movements of the Train,[86] which I am sorry to say, I think will be tedious in advancing very tedious indeed, as answerable to the expectation I have long conceived tho' few believ'd.

Alexandria has been honoured with 5 Governors in Consultation; a happy presage I hope, not only of the success of this Expedition, but for our little Town; for surely such honours must have arisen from the Commodious, and pleasant situation of this place the best constitutional qualitys for Popularity and encrease of a (now) flourishing Trade.

I have had the honour to be introduced to the Governors; and of being well receiv'd by them all, especially Mr. Shirley, whose character and appearance has perfectly charm'd me, as I think every word and every action discovers the Gent'n. and great Politician. I heartily wish something of such unanimity amongst us, as appear'd to Reign between him and his

[85] Mount Vernon is in Fairfax County.
[86] The train of artillery.

Assembly; when they, to expedite the Business, and forward his journey here sat till eleven, and twelve o'clock at Nights.

It will be needless, as I know your punctuality requires no repetition's to remind you of an Affair, ab't. which I wrote some time ago; therefore I shall only beg my compliments to Mr. Nicholas[87] and his Lady, and to all Friends who think me worthy of their inquirys. I am Dear Sir etc.

*To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Bullskin, April 30, 1755.

Dear Madam: In order to engage your corrispondence, I think it expedient just to deserve it; which I shall endeavour to do by embracing the earliest, and every oppertunity of writing to you.

It will be needless to expatiate on the pleasures that communication of this kind will afford me, as it shall suffice to say; a corrispondance with my Friends is the greatest satisfaction I expect to enjoy, in the course of the Campaigne, and that none of my friends are able to convey more real delight than you can to whom I stand indebted for so many obligations.

If an old proverb can claim my belief I am certainly [?][88] share of success; for surely no man ever made a worse beginning, than I have; out of 4 Horses which we brought from home, one was kill'd outright, and the other 3 render'd unfit for use; so that I have been detain'd here three days already, and how much longer I may continue to be so, the Womb of time most discover.

[87] Robert Carter Nicholas, who succeeded John Robinson as treasurer of Virginia in 1766 and served until after 1775.—*Toner.*

[88] The erasure at this point was made with a knife and the writing is entirely obliterated.

I must beg my Compliments to Miss. Hannah, Miss Dent,[89] and any other's that think me worthy of their enquirys.

I am Madam Yr. most Obedt. Servt.

*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Winchester May 5, 1755.

Dear Sir: I overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryland and from thence we proceeded to this place, where we shall remain till the arrival of the 2nd. Division of the Train, (which we hear left Alexandria on Tuesday last); after that we shall continue our March to Wills Creek; from whence it is imagined we shall not stir till the latter end of this Month, for want of Waggons, and other convenciences to Transports our Baggage &c. over the Mount'n.

You will naturally conclude that to pass through Maryl'd. (when no business requir'd it,) was an uncommon, and extraordinary route for the Gen'l. and Colo. Dunbarr's Regiment to this place; but at the same time the reason, however, was obvious to say that those who promoted it had rather have the communication should be that way, than through Virginia; but I now believe the Imposition has to evidently appeared for the Imposer's to subject us to the same Inconvencies again.[90] please to make my Compt's. to Colo. G.[91] to whom I shall write by the next oppertunity, and excuse haste. I am &c.

[89] Hannah Fairfax, who married Warner Washington, of Gloucester, and Miss Elizabeth Dent, who lived at Belvoir. Miss Dent was the daughter, or sister, of Thomas Dent, long a clerk in the Northern Neck office.

[90] The selection of the route was due to Sir John St. Clair, who thought to gain dispatch by dividing the army, sending one division with powder and ordnance by Winchester and the other with military and hospital stores by Frederick, in Maryland. On reaching Frederick, Col. Thomas Dunbar found there was no road through Maryland to Fort Cumberland, and he was compelled to cross the Potomac and take the Winchester route. St. Clair expected Governor Morris to build a road to Wills Creek, and taking him to task sharply for his failure, received a "set-down" from Morris, as Governor Shirley called it.—*Ford.*

[91] George William Fairfax.

*To THOMAS, LORD FAIRFAX

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

My Lord: I have had the misfortune to lose 3 of my Horses since I left home; and not bringing money enough to buy other's and to answer all the contingent expences that may arise in the course of the Campaigne, I have made bold to solicit your Lordship's assistance which will infinitely oblige me.

About 40 or 50 £ will supply my wants, and for which I shou'd gladly pay your Lordship Interest, beside many thanks for the favour, as I am greatly distress'd at this present, not being able to proceed well with't.

The Gen'l. sets out to morrow, and proceeds directly to Wills Creek; which, together with the hurry of Business, that has happen'd since we came to Town, has been a means of depriving me of the pleasure of waiting upon your Lordship, as I intended to have done. Please to make my Compt. to Colo. Martin.[92] I am Yr. Lordships etc.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

Dear Jack: A very fatiegueing Ride, and long round brought me to the General (the day I parted with you) at Frederick Town; a small Village 15 Miles below the blue Ridge in Maryland from thence we proceeded to this place, where we have halted since Saturday last, and shall depart from Wills Creek to morrow.

I find there is no probability of Marching the Army from Wills Creek till the latter end of this Month, or the first of

[92] Col. Thomas Bryan Martin was the son of Denny Martin and Lord Fairfax's sister Frances. He was county lieutenant of Hampshire and a burgess from that county, 1756–1758.

next; so that you may imagine time will hang heavy upon my hands. I meet with a familiar complaisance in this Family, especially from the General, who I hope to please without difficulty, for I may say it can scarce be done with as he uses, and requires less ceremony than you can well conceive.

I have order'd the Horse Gist to Bullskin,[93] and my own here, if serviceable; otherwise you must have them carr'd down when Countess is sent up: I have conceive'd a good Op'n of Gist, therefore, I hope you will not let him want for proper usage, if he sh'd be s't instead of the Greys; which will be the case if they are able to perform the Journey.

I hope you'll have frequent oppert'ys to expatiate upon the State of my Affairs, w'ch you adm'r to such degree of satisf'n to a Person in my situation. At present I have nothing to add but my comp'ts to all friends, particularly the good Family at Belvoir who I hope to hear are in good health.[94]

*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON

Winchester, May 6, 1755.

Honour'd Madam: I came to this place last Saturday, and shall set out to morrow with the General for Wills Creek; where I fear we shall wait some time for a sufficient number of Waggons to transport us over the Mountains.

I am very happy in the General's Family, and I am treated with a complaisant Freedom which is quite agreeable; so that I have no occasion to doubt the satisfaction I propos'd in making the Campaigne.

[93] Bullskin, the name of Washington's plantation in Frederick County.

[94] The Fairfax family. John Augustine Washington, the favorite brother of George Washington, was then living at Mount Vernon and taking care of the place. He became the father of Bushrod Washington, to whom George Washington transferred much of the affection he felt for John Augustine, after the latter's death.

As we have met with nothing yet worth relating I shall only beg my Love to my Brother's and Sister's; and Compliments to Friends.

I am, Honour'd Madam,

Yr. most Dutiful and Obedt. Son,

*To MRS. JOHN CARLYLE[95]

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Madam: As I have no higher expectation in view than an intimate corrispondance with my Friends, I hope, in that, I shall not be disappointed; especially by you and Mrs. Fairfax, who was pleas'd (tho. seldom) to honour me with yours last time.[96]

We arrived here the 10th., and for ought I know may Halt till the 10th. of next Month, before we receive Waggon's &c. to transport our Baggage and Horses to the Aligany.

We have no news in the Camp to entertain you with at present, but I hope to be furnish'd with some thing agreeable against my next, when I shall not fail to communicate it: Interim, I am Dr. Madam Yr. most Obedt. etc.

This Letter was not sent.

*To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Sir: I Overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryl'd. and proceeded with him by way of Winchester to this place; which gave him a good oppertunity to see the absurdity of the

[95] Mrs. John Carlyle (Sarah Fairfax, sister-in-law of Sarah Cary, Mrs. George William Fairfax).

[96] When Washington marched toward the Ohio in 1754.

Rout, and of Damning it very heartily. Colo. Dunbar's Regiment was also oblig'd to cross over at Connogogee and come down within 6 Miles of Winchester to take the new road up, which gave me infinite satisfaction.

We are to Halt here till forage can be brought from Philadelphia, which I suppose will introduce the Month of June upon us; and then we are to proceed upon our tremendous undertaking of transporting the heavy Artillery over the Mountains, which I believe will compose the greatest difficulty of the Campaigne; For as to any apprehensions of the Enemy I think they need only to be provided against to be well regarded, as I fancy the French will be oblig'd to draw their force from the Ohio to repel the Attacks in the North, under the command of Governour Shirley &c, who will make three different attempts imediately.

I coud wish to hear what the Assembly and other's have done, and are doing, together with any occurances as may have happen'd since my departure.

I am in very great want of Boots, and have desir'd my Bror. Jno. to purchase a pair and send them to you, who I hope will contrive them to me, by the first oppertunity. I have wrote to my old corrispondant Mrs. Carlyle and must beg my Compliments to my good Friend Dalton,[97] &c. I am &c.

NB. This Letter was never sent.

*To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Madam: I have at last, with great pains and difficulty, discovered the Reason why Mrs. Wardrope is a greater favourite of Genl. Braddock's than Mrs. Fairfax; and met with more respect at the late review in Alexandria.

[97] John Dalton, of Alexandria.

The cause I shall communicate, after rallying you for neglecting the means that introduced her to his favour which to say truth were in [?] a present of delicious Cake, and potted Wood cocks; that wrought such wonders [?] upon the Heart of the General [?] as upon those of the gentlemen that they became instant Admirers, not only the charms, but the Politeness of this Fair Lady.

We have a favourable prospect of halting here three Weeks or a Month longer for Waggons, Horses and Forage; so that it is easy to conceive my situation will be very pleasant and agreeable, when I dreaded this (before I came out) more than every other Incident that might happen in the Campaigne.

I hope you will favour me with your corrispondance since you see my willing desirousness[?] to deserve the Honour, and of approving myself, Your most Obedt. and most Humble Servt.[98]

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Brother: As wearing Boots is quite the Mode, and mine in a declining State; I must beg the favour of you to procure me a pair that is good, and neat, and send them to Major Carlyle, who I hope will contrive them as quick as my necessity requires.

I see no prospect of moving from this place; as we have neither Horses nor Waggons enough, and no forage for them to subsist upon but what is expected from Philadelphia; therefore, I am well convinced that the trouble and difficulty we must encounter in passing the Mountain for want of proper

[98] The bracketed query marks denote a word or words so crossed over or erased by Washington, 30 years after writing this letter, as to be indecipherable. The word "desirousness," in the last paragraph, is a doubtful reading, though the first two syllables are correct.

conveniences, will equal all the other Interruptions of the Campaigne; for I conceive the March of such a Train of Artillery in these Roads to be a tremendous undertaking: As to any danger from the Enemy I look upon it as trifling, for I believe they will be oblig'd to exert their utmost Force to repel the attacks to the Northward, where Governour Shirley and other's with a body of 8,000 Men, will annoy their Settlements, and attempt their Forts.

The Gen'l. has appointed me one of his aids de Camps,[99] in which Character I shall serve this Campaigne, agreeably enough, as I am thereby freed from all commands but his, and give Order's to all, which must be implicitly obey'd.

I have now a good oppertunity, and shall not neglect it, of forming an acquaintance, which may be serviceable hereafter, if I can find it worth while pushing my Fortune in the Military way.

I have wrote to my two female corrispondents[1] by this oppertunity, one of which Letters I have inclos'd to you, and beg y'r. deliverance off. I shall expect a Succinct acc't of all that has happened since my departure.

I am, dear Jack, etc.

The above Letter was not sent.

*To COLONEL AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON[2]

Fort Cumberland, May 14, 1755.

Dear Brother: I left home the 24th. of last Month, and overtook the General at Frederick Town in Maryland: from whence we proceeded by slow Marches to this place; where, I fear, we shall remain sometime for want of Horses and Carriages to convey our Baggage &c. over the Mountains; but

[99] This appointment was proclaimed to the troops in general orders of May 10.

[1] Mrs. Carlyle and Mrs. Fairfax, who were sisters-in-law.

[2] Augustine Washington was half brother to George and full brother to Lawrence. George Washington generally referred to him as Austin Washington.

more especially for want of Forage; as it cannot be imagin'd that so many Horses as we require, will be subsisted without a great deal.

We hear nothing particular from the Ohio; only that the French are in hourly expectation of being join'd by a large body of Indians; but I fancy they will find themselves so warmly attack'd in other places, that it will [not be convenient for them to spare many.][3]

I am treated with freedom, and respect, by the General and his Family; so that I don't doubt but I shall spend my time very agreeably this Campaigne, tho' not advantageously; as I conceive a little experience will be my chief reward, please to give my Love to my Sister, &c. I am, Dr. Sir, etc.

This Letter was not sent.

MEMORANDUM

The 15th. of May I was sent to Colo. Hunter[4] for a supply of Money of 4,000 £ Sterling and arriv'd as far as Winchester, on my way thither the day following, from whence I dispatch'd an express to him (fearing he might be out) to provide that sum, and meet me at Williamsburgh with it, and proceeded myself thro Fairfax where I was detained a Day in getting Horses.

*To JOHN HUNTER

Winchester, May 16, 1755.

Sir: I have Orders from the Gen'l. and Instructions from Mr. Johnston,[5] to receive 4,000 £ Stlg. at the rate of £4:0:7¼ pr. Oz., which will suffice for the present contingencies.

[3] The phrase in brackets was inserted by Washington in 1785 after erasing that written in 1755 so completely that it can not be deciphered. The attacks on the French in other places alluded to the plans for the campaign in the northern colonies.

[4] Col. John Hunter, of Hampton, and paymaster general of Braddock's forces.

[5] John Johnston.

I have therefore dispatched this express with order's to make all imaginable haste to you, who I am told will imediately repair to Wmsburg. with the Money, and pay it there, according to contract. I must beg your utmost diligence in this affair as I have Order's not to wait, because the whole Army will halt at Wills Creek till I return, at an immense expence.

I have Letter's from the Gen'l. and Paymaster, with Bills and proper Instruction's; all of which I shall deliver when I have the pleasure of meeting you, which I expect will be in Williamsburg on Wednesday next, as I am now upon my way down, and shall delay no time. I am, &c.

*To MR. BELFOUR

Winchester, May 16, 1755.

Sir: If Colo. [Hunter] sh'd. be from home, I hope you will open this Letter to see and attend to the contents, that you may dispatch a Messenger to him immediately, to prevent his trouble in getting the 10 or 15 Th'd. Pounds ment'd. in a former Letter but repair immediately to W'msburg with the 4,000 L, which is all I am to receive at pres't. I am Sir, etc.

*To ROBERT ORME

Claybourn's Ferry
8 O'Clock, Thursdy. Morng. [May 22, 1755.]

Dear Sir: In pursuance of His Excellency's Commands I proceeded, to this place with all convenient dispatch; But, as I apprehd., and very justly, that the getting and posting Horses at proper Stages, in order to expedate my return, wou'd. occasion some delay. I dispatched an express from Winchester to Hampton advising Colo. Hunter of my business, and desiring him to meet me in Williamsburg with the money: which sd.

express I this day met on his return from there, with a verbal message from Govr. Dinwiddie informing me that Colo. Hunter set out to the Northward last Week for money, and wont be returnd. in 14 or 15 Days; and that my journey will prove abortive; however this may happen I shall continue down till I have other information; but thought it first expedient (as I compleatly believe the report myself) to give you this early intelligence that the Genl. may determine accordingly.

As I am fatigued and a good deal disorder'd by constant riding in a droughth that has almost destroy'd. this part of the Country I shall proceed more slowly back, unless I am fortunate enough, contrary to expectation, to receive the money, and in that case I shall hurry back with the utmost dispatch.

If His Excellency finds it necessary that the money can be had, he has nothing more to do than intimate the same to me; when I shall return back from any place that an express can meet me with his Order's. My Compts. attds. Morris, Shirley,[6] and other Friends of our Party in Camp. I am, etc.

*MEMORANDUM

At Claybourns Ferry the 22d. I met the Express I had sent, as he was returning, who brought a Verbal message in the most expressive terms from Governour Dinwiddie, acquainting me that Colo. Hunter was gone to the Northward and that I wou'd certainly be disappointed in my expectations of this I acquainted Captn. Orme by Letter and proceeded on to Williamsburg where I arriv'd the same Day, and met Mr. Belfour Partner to Colo. Hunter with near the sum desir'd, which was compleated the next day, time enough to reach Chissels Ordinary on my return.

[6] Capts. Roger Morris and William Shirley, both aides to Braddock. Morris was born in England; he married Mary Philipse, of Philipse Manor, New York, in 1758, and built the Roger Morris house, later known as the Jumel Mansion. Shirley was the son of Gov. William Shirley, of Massachusetts.

*[To ROBERT ORME]

Friday Noon [Williamsburg, May 23, 1755.]

Dear Sir: Since writg. from Claybourn's Ferry [7] by the late express, I arriv'd at this place and met Mr. Belfour, who, I believe, will be able, with the assistance of the Govr. and some other of his Friends, to procure the money against the morning; which will enable me to set out and I hope to get to Winchester by Tuesday Night next; from whence I shall proceed to the Camp with all possible dispatch.

As Colo. Hunter is gone to the Northward I cou'd get no positive answer concerning the further sum of Ten thousand pounds (which he was desir'd to send to Wills Creek) but Mr. Belfour his partner, thinks it may be depended upon. I shall, before I leave Town get his answer in writing, and deliver it on my arrival safe. Interim, I am, etc.

*MEMORANDUM

The 27th. I reached Winchester and expected to have met the troop of Light Horse to Escort me to the Camp, but being disappointed in that I engaged a guard of the Militia with which I set out on the 29th. followg. and arrived at the Camp the 30th; from Winchester I wrote the following letter to my Brother Jno. Washington.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Winchester, May 28, 1755.

Dear Jack: I came to this place last Night, and was greatly disappointed at not finding the Cavalry according to promise; I am oblig'd to wait till it does arrive, or till I can procure a Guard from the Militia, either of which I suppose will detain

[7] Claibornes Ferry, in New Kent County, on the main road to Williamsburg.

me two days; as you may, with almost equal success, attempt to raize the Dead to life again, as the force of this County; and that from Wills Creek cannot be expected in less than the forementioned time without they are now upon their March.

The Droughth in this County, if possible, exceeds what we see below; so that, it is very reasonably conjectur'd they won't make Corn to suffice the People; and as for Tobacco, they decline all thoughts of making any.

The Inhabitants of this place abound in News, but as I apprehend it is founded upon as much truth as some I heard in my way down, I think it advisable to forego the recital till a little better authority confirms the report, and then you may expect to have a succinct acct.

I shou'd be glad to hear you live Harmony and good fellowship with the family at Belvoir, as it is in their power to be very serviceable upon many occassion's to us, as young beginner's. I wou'd advise your visiting often as one step towards it; the rest, if any more is necessary, your own good sense will sufficient dictate; for to that Family I am under many obligations, particularly to the old Gentleman.[8]

Mrs. Fairfax and Mrs. Spearing[9] express'd an inclination to hear whether I liked [?][10] this place (with my charge safe), you may therefore acquaint them that I met with no other Interruption than the difficulty of gettg. Horses after I found her's for want of Shoes grew lame, I was oblig'd to get a fresh horse every 15 or 20 Miles, which render'd the journey tiresome. I shou'd have receiv'd greater relief from the fatigues of my journey, and my time wou'd have been spent much more

[8] Hon. William Fairfax.

[9] Mrs. Ann Spearing, one of the signers of the well-known, sprightly letter of welcome that went from Belvoir to Washington on his return from the Monongahela.

[10] Thirty years later the change was made to "express'd a wish to be informed of the time and manner of my reaching this place."

agreeably, had I halted below, rather than at this vile post but I little imagin'd I shou'd have occasion to wait for a Guard who ought to have waited for me; if either must have waited at all.

I have given Colo. Fairfax an Order upon you for £8:17:5 which please to pay, as it is on acct. of a horse w'ch I bought of Neale sometime ago. You will receive, Inclos'd, Bowce's receipt for Harry; and I shou'd be glad, if you have any oppertunity, that you wou'd demand my Bond which I had given, and cou'd not receive at [?][11] of the money; this receipt you may put into my receipt draw. My Compliments attend my Friends who I wish health and happiness to, very sincerely; I am Dear Jack, your most Affectionate Brother

P. S. As I undersand your County is to be divided, and that Mr. Alexander intends to decline serving it, I shou'd be glad if you cou'd fish at Colo. Fairfax's Intentions, and let me know whether he purposes to offer himself a Candidate; If he does not I shou'd be glad to stand a poll, if I thought my chance tolerably good. Majr. Carlyle mention'd it to me in Williamsburg in a bantering way and asked how I shou'd like to go, saying at the same time, he did not know but they might send me when I knew nothing of the matter, for one or t'other of the Counties. I must own I shou'd like to go for either in that manner, but more particularly for Fairfax, as I am a resident there.

I shou'd be glad if you cou'd discover Major Carlyles real sentim'ts also those of Mr. Dalton, Ramsay, Mason,[12] &c. w'ch I hope and think you may with't disclosing much of mine; as I know y'r own good sense can furnish you with means enough without letting it proceed immediately from me. If you do any thing in this pray let me know by the first oppertunity how you have succeeded in it; and how those Gentlemen stand

[11] The later change was "at the time I paid the money."

[12] John Dalton, William Ramsay, and Thomson (?) Mason, of Fairfax.

affected; if they seem inclinable to promote my Interest, and things shou'd be drawing to a crisis you then may declare my Intentions and beg their assistance. If on the Contrary you find them more inclin'd to favour some other, I w'd have the Affair entirely dropped. Parson Green's and Captn. McCarty's[13] Interests in this wou'd be of Consequence; and I shou'd be glad if you cou'd sound their Pulse upon the occasion; Conduct the whole till you are satisfied of the Sentim'ts of those I have mention'd, with an air of Indifference and unconcern; after that you may regulate your conduct accordingly. Captn. West[14] the present Burgess, and our Friend Jack West, cou'd also be serviceable if they had a mind to assist the Interest of Dear Jack Your loving Brother.[15]

*MEMORANDUM

May 30, [1755.]

Upon my return from Williamsburg I found Sir Jno. St. Clair, with Majr. Chapman and a Detachm't of 500 Men were gone on to the Little Meadows in ord'r to prepare the Roads, erect a small Fort, and to lay a Deposit of Provision's

[13] Rev. Charles Green, minister of Truro Parish, and Capt. Daniel McCarty, who lived near Pohick.

[14] Capt. John West, who was with Washington at Great Meadows and had succeeded to his brother Hugh West's seat in the House of Burgesses when Hugh died in 1754. Jack West was John West, jr.

[15] A further bit of information as to this Fairfax election is furnished by Adam Stephen's letter of December 23: "Such a spirit fo revenge and indignation prevaild here, upon hearing you were insulted at the Fairfax election, that we were all ready and violent to run and tear your enemies to pieces . . . it would have been far better to have acquainted me with your intention of standing candidate for Frederick, my acquaintance there is very general . . . that with a weeks notice . . . you would have gone unanimously, in the mean time I think your poll was not despicable as the people were a stranger to your purpose, untill the election began." The election was held December 11, and a poll list, in Washington's writing, in the *Washington Papers,* does not mention his own name but gives those who voted for Capt. John West, who was elected with 252 votes, Col. George William Fairfax, 222 votes, and William Elzey, 224. There is also an undated poll list for Frederick County, in the *Washington Papers* (but not in Washington's writing), which gives the result of the vote as Hugh West, 271; Thomas Swearingen, 270; and Washington, 40.

there. The 2d. of June Mr. Spindelowe discover'd a communication from Fort Cumberland to the Old Road leadg. to the Aligany with't xing those Enormous Mountains which had prov'd so prijuducial to our Waggon Horses. This intercourse was open'd by the branch of Wills Creek, by the 7th. when Sir Peter Halkett with the first Brigade of the Line, began their March, and Incamp'd within a mile of the old Road; which is abt. 5 Miles from the Fort the same day. This Encampment was first called by the Name of the Grove but afterwards altered to that of Spindelowe's Camp.[16]

This day also, Captn. Gates's[17] Independant Compy., the remaining Companies of the Provincial Troops, and the whole Park of Artillery, were order'd to hold themselves in readiness to March at an hour's warng. under the Comd. of Lieut. Colo. Burton:[18] which they accordingly did the 9th followg.; but with g't difficulty got up to Sir Peter Halkett's Brigade; the difficulty arising in this March by too gt. a number of Waggon's was the occasion of a Council being called so soon as the General arriv'd (with Colo. Dunbar's Regim't.) the same day; In which Council it was determin'd to retrench the number of Waggon's and increase the pack Loads for Horses; in order thereto, the Officer's were call'd together, and the Genl. represented to them the necessity there was to procure all the Horses it was possible for his Majesty's Service; advis'd them to send back such of thier Baggage as they cou'd do with't and apply the Horses which by that means wou'd become spar'd to carry provisions for the Army, which was accordingly done with great cheerfulness and zeal.

[16] In Maryland.

[17] Horatio Gates, later major general in the Continental Army.

[18] Burton died of wounds received at the Monongahela; he commanded the Forty-eighth Foot.

*To WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Honble. Sir: I arriv'd with my charge safe in Camp the 30th. of last Month, after waiting a Day and a piece in Winchester expecting the Calvalry to Escort me up; in which I was Disappointed, and oblig'd to make use of a small Guard of the Militia of Frederick.

The General, by frequent breaches of Contracts, has lost all degree of patience; and for want of that consideration and moderation which shou'd be used by a Man of Sense upon these occassion's, will I fear, represent us [?][19] in a light we little deserve; for instead of blameing the Individuals as he ought, he charges all his Disappointments to a publick Supineness; and looks upon the Country, I believe, as void of both Honour and Honesty; we have frequent disputes on this head, which are maintained with warmth on both sides, especially on his, who is incapable of Arguing with't; or giving up any point he asserts, let it be ever so incompatible with Reason.[20]

There is a Line of Communication to be open'd from Pensylvania to the French Fort Duquisne, along w'ch we are to receive, after a little time, all our Convoys of Provisions, &c.;

[19] One word erased.

[20] The governors of the different colonies had promised much, but performed little; and the large deposits of supplies supposed to exist were soon found wanting, or in places where they could be of no service, and no means at hand to transport them to the army. It was at one of these crises that Franklin rendered such efficient aid. (See Franklin's *Works* (Bigelow edition), vol. 2, p. 419.) For 200 miles the troops marched with only salt provisions, and the general was forced to offer large rewards to such as would bring to the camp provisions, paying a higher price than was usual for whatever could be obtained. In one case some salted beef was condemned on its arrival in camp as unfit for food. The horses were stolen almost as fast as they could be obtained. The contractors failed to supply what they had contracted for, and Cresap lost his position as commissary through his gross negligence. On the other hand, General Braddock did not hesitate to enlist and take away servants and impress wagons, horses, teamsters, and even carriages and carriage horses.—*Ford.*

and to give all manner of encouragement to a People who ought rather to be chastis'd for their insensibility of their own danger, and disobedience of their Sovereign's expectation. They are to be the choosen people because they have furnished what their absolute Interest alone induced them to do, that is 150 Waggons, and an Equivalent number of horses.[21]

* * * * *[22]

General Innis has accepted of a Commission to be Governour of Cumberland Fort, where he is to reside, and will shortly receive another to be hangman, or something of that kind.

By a Letter from Governor Morris we have advice, that a party of three hund'd Men pass'd Oswego on their way to Fort Duquisne, and that another and larger Detachment was expected to pass that place every moment. By the Publick accts. from Pennsylvania we are assur'd that 900 Men has certainly pass'd Oswego, to reinforce the French on Ohio, so that from the accts. we have reason to believe we shall have more to do than go up the Hills to come Down again.

We are impatient to hear what the power's at home are doing; whether Peace or war is like to be the event of all these Preparations. I am Honble. Sir etc.

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[21] These remarks are applied to the Pennsylvanians, who were singularly backward in rendering any aids for the public service. The merit of procuring the wagons and horses, here mentioned, was wholly due to Franklin, and not to any agency or intention of the assembly. Being at that time postmaster general in the Colonies, he visited General Braddock at Frederick Town for the purpose of maturing a plan for transmitting dispatches between the general and the governors. Becoming acquainted with the obstacles which opposed the progress of the army, he stipulated with General Braddock to furnish within a given time 150 wagons and a proportionable number of horses, for which a specified sum was to be allowed. He immediately returned to York and Lancaster, sent out an advertisement among the farmers, and in two weeks all the wagons and horses were in readiness at Wills Creek. He gave his personal security that the compensation agreed on should be duly paid according to contract.—*Sparks.*

[22] Two paragraphs omitted here are nearly a verbatim repetition of what Washington wrote to John Augustine Washington, June 7, *post.*

*To GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Sir: I had not the pleasure of receiving your favour till after my return from Williamsburg, when it was not in my power to be so serviceable in the affair of your Horses, as I cou'd wish; for they were sent out with a Detachment of 500 Men a few days before. I made immediate enquiry, and application for them; and believe I shall be able, notwithstanding our g't want of Horses, to procure their liberty when we come up with the Detachment; but when that will be, or in what order you may receive them, I can't absolutely say; for we are inform'd, they have kill'd some of their Horses outright, and disabled others, for which Reason I think it wou'd be too great to expect your's will escape the calamitys that befall those of other's: They are apprais'd (as I saw by one of the Waggon-Master's Books') to £16 the two; which with your Servant Simpson, is all that I can understand is here, belonging to you.

As I have taken this oppertunity of writing to Colo. Fairfax, and being just at this time a good deal hurried, which prevents me from enlargeing so fully as I otherwise wou'd, I shall beg to refer you to him for what little News is stirring in the Camp: please to make my Compliments to all Friends who think me worthy of their enquirys. I am etc.

*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Honour'd Madam: I was favour'd with yours by Mr. Dick, and am sorry it is not in my power to provide you with either a Dutch man, or the Butter as you desire, for we are quite out of

that part of the Country where either are to be had, as there are few or no Inhabitants where we now lie Encamp'd, and butter cannot be had here to supply the wants of the Camp.

I was sorry it was not in my power to call upon you as I went to, or came from Williamsburg to'ther Day, which I shou'd have done if the business I went upon, which was for money, wou'd have suffer'd me to have made an hour's delay.

I hope you will spend the chief part of your time at Mount Vernon as you say, where I am certain everything will be order'd as much for your satisfaction as possible, in the Situation we are in.

There is a Detachment of 500 Men March'd from this towards the Aligany, to prepare the Roads &c. and it is imagin'd the main body will move now in abt. 5 days time.

As nothing else that is remarkable, occur's to me, I shall conclude, after begging my love and Compliments to all Friends Dear Madam Yr. Most Affect. and Dutiful Son

*To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

Fort Cumberland, June 7, 1755.

Dear Sir: I take this oppertunity, as it is the last I can expect before we leave this place, of enquiring after your health, which I hope is greatly amended since I saw you in Willaimsburg. I have not time, as we are now very much hurried, to communicate very particularly the little News that is stirring in the Camp; from whence, before I arriv'd, was Detach'd a body of 500 Men under the Command of Major Chapman and the Quarter-master General, who are to prepare the Roads and lay a Deposit of Provision's at the Little Meadows; where they are to Erect some kind of Defensive Work to secure our convoys. To morrow Sir Peter Halkett with the first Brigade March off and abt. the Monday following the Genl. and the

2d. will move from hence. We have no certain accts. of the French on Ohio; but have advises by Letter from Governor Morris that a Body of three hund'd past Oswego, and that a still larger body was hourly expected; so that I apprehend we shall not take possession of Fort Duquisne so quietly as was imagin'd.

The Inclos'd is to my good Friend Mrs. Carlyle, who I hope will not suffer our former corrispondance to drop; my Sincere wishes and Compliments attends all enquiring Friends: and I am, etc.

*To MRS. JOHN CARLYLE

Camp at Wills Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Madam: As I have no higher expectation in view than an intimate Corrispondance with my Friends, I hope in that I shall not be disappointed; especially by you and Mrs. Fairfax, who was pleas'd (tho' seldom) to honour me with your's last time a year.

I arriv'd here in tolerable health tho something fatigued with the Journey; and found Sir Jno. St. Clair was Detach'd with 500 Men to amend the Roads, that the main body might pass with the greater ease who I suppose will be all in motion by Tuesday next.

Please to make my Compliments agreeable to Mrs. Spearing who has my most sincere and hearty wishes for every thing her heart can desire. I am Dear Madam etc.

To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Fort Cumberland at Willes Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Madam: When I had the pleasure to see you last, you express'd an Inclination to be informed of my safe arrival at Camp with the charge that was entrusted to my care; but at the same time desir'd it might be communicated in a Letter to

some body of your acquaintance. This I took as a Gentle rebuke and polite manner of forbidding me corrisponding with you and conceive this opinion is not illy founded when I sifted it thus. I have hither to found it impracticable to engage one moment of your attention. If I am right in this I hope you will excuse my present presumption and lay the imputation to lateness at my successful arrival. If on the contrary these are fearfull apprehensions only, how easy is it to remove my suspicion, enliven my [?],[23] and make me happier than the Day is long, by honouring me with a corrispondance which you did once partly promise.

Please to make my Complts. to Miss Hannah,[24] and to Mr. Bryan[25] to whom I shall do myself the pleasr. of writing so soon as I hear he is return'd from Westmoreland.

I am Madam Your most Obedt. etc.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Camp at Will's Creek, June 7, 1755.

Dear Jack: As much hurried as I am at present, I can't think of leaving this place without writing to you; tho' I have no time to be particular. I was Escorted by 8 Men of the Militia

[23] Indecipherable; the later change was "dull hours," which appears to be what was written in 1755, but with the addition of an extra word or two.

[24] Hannah Fairfax. She later became the second wife of Warner Washington, first cousin to George.

[25] Bryan Fairfax, who became the eighth Lord Fairfax. He was a half brother of George William Fairfax, and was four years younger than George Washington. A lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment, he experienced a religious conviction which later carried him into the ministry. He lived with his first wife, Elizabeth Cary, daughter of Col. Wilson Cary, of Ceelys, at Towlston Grange in the vicinity of Difficult Run, Fairfax County. In 1778 he attempted to bring about peace between the States and Great Britain, but failed and, finding he could not conscientiously take the British oath, returned to Virginia and died there. He lived long after the close of the Revolution and helped organize the Episcopal Church in Virginia after the war. His first wife died in 1778, and he married Jane, daughter of John Donaldson, of Fairfax, in 1780. The latter part of his life was spent at Mount Eagle, which he built near Alexandria.

from Winchester to this place; which 8 Men were 2 Days assembling; but I believe they wou'd not have been more than as many seconds dispersing if I had been attacked. Upon arrival here, I found Sir Jno. St. Clair[26] with a body of 500 Men were March'd to prepare the Roads, lay a deposit of Provisions at the little Meadows, and to erect some kind of defensive work there.

To morrow Sir Peter[27] with the first Brigade, begin their March, and on Monday the General and the 2d. will follow. We have no certain acct. from the Ohio: but have advices from Philadelphia that a body of 300 F. pass'd Oswego on their way to Fort Duquisne, and that a larger Detachment was hourly expected. A Captn. of Sir Peter's Regim't with several of the common Soldiers of the different Corps has died since our Incampm't here, and many others are now sick with a kind of bloody Flux. I wrote from Winchester a Letter which I hope you have receiv'd and shou'd be glad of an answer as soon as possible; any Letter's to me, directed to the care of Mr. Cox,[28] at Winchester, will be certain of a conveyance I am Dr. Jack Yr. most Affe. Brother

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Camp at George's Creek, June 14, 1755.

Dear Jack: I received your's of the 8th. Instant from Fredericksburg and am sorry to find that Allan is become importunate for a Debt of so short standing; but it is the way of the World, therefore not to be wonder'd at.

[26] St. Clair commanded a regiment and was Braddock's quartermaster general; he was wounded at the Monongahela.

[27] Killed at the Monongahela.

[28] William Cocke, Cocks, or Cox, of Winchester, whose house Washington afterwards occupied while in command on the Virginia frontier.

I am pleas'd to find you have a prospect of settling that affair with Patrick Kendrick, and shou'd be very glad to hear you entertain'd hopes of discovering my young Mare, as I had conceiv'd high expectation's of her. My negro's Cloathes I hope you will take care to get in time, and employ Cleo's leisure hour's in mak'g them. I am exceedingly rejoiced that Tobo. is likely to keep up its price, and doubt not but you'll endeavour to make the most of mine, and of every thing else I have entrusted to your care; as you know, and what entire confidence I repose in your managem't.[29]

I receiv'd a Letter yesterday from my Broth'r. Saml. who desires a division of our deep run tract this Fall, which is very agreeable to me and I will abide by any settlement you shall make on my behalf[30]

As I have wrote to you twice since the first Inst I shall only add that the difficulty's arising in our March from havg. a number of Waggon's will, I fear, prove insurmountable unless some scheme can be fallen upon to retrench the Waggon's, and increase the no. of Bat Horses which is what I recommended at first, and I believe, is now found to be the most salutary means of transporting our Provision's and Stores to Ohio. I am, Dr. Jack, Yr. &c.

P. S. I have been able to procure Townshend Washington a Comn. to be assistant Comy. with pay at 5/ Sterg. pr. Day and Anthony Strother[31] a pair of Colour's in Colo. Dunbar's Regiment.

[29] John Augustine Washington was then managing Mount Vernon for George Washington.

[30] Deep Run land, on the Rappahannock above Fredericksburg, a part of the estate left by Augustine Washington, father of George and Samuel.

[31] Anthony Strother, sr., one of the witnesses of Augustine Washington's will, acknowledged this appointment in a letter of July 9, 1755, which is in the *Washington Papers*. Strother's daughter Sarah became the grandmother of President Zachary Taylor.

*To SAMUEL WASHINGTON

Camp, at George's-Creek, June 14, 1755.

Dr. Saml: I received your's of the 27th. of May, and assure you that nothing is more agreeable to me than to have our Deep run Tract divided; nor nothg. is more agreeable than for my Brothr. Jno. to act on my behalf, whose conduct in the affair I shall abide by: so that you have nothing more to do but consult with him about the time, and endeavour to get it done upon as cheap terms as possible.

I am excessively hurried, therefore have not time to be particular in informing you of the occurencies that have, or may happen; we have got thus far, and shall continue on to Fort Duquisne; where, I hope the dispute will soon be decided, and then I shall be able to give you a more particular acct. pray make my Compts. to my Sister and to Colo. Champes[32] Family

I am Dr. Saml. Yr. &c.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Gt. Xing. on the Yaugh., June 28, 1755.

Dear Jack: Immediately upon our leav'g the C. at George's Cr'k the 14th Inst. (from wh'e I wrote to you) I was seiz'd with viol't Fevers and Pns. in my h'd w'ch con'd w'out the l't. Intermisn. till the 23 foll'g when I was reliev'd by the Genls. absol'ly ordering the Phy'ns to give me Doctr. Ja's Powder, w'ch is the most excel't mede. in the W'd for it gave me immed. ease, and removed my Fev'rs and other comp'ts in 4 Days time.[33] My

[32] Col. John Champe, of King George County.

[33] From June 17 to July 8 Washington was kept in the rear of the army by this illness. Robert James was a schoolfellow of Samuel Johnson and author of a medicinal dictionary in three folio volumes. "I never thought well of Dr James's compounded medicines," was Johnson's opinion. These famous fever powders were sold by Newbury, Goldsmith's publisher.

illness was too violent to suffer me to ride, therefore I was indebted to a cover'd Waggon for some part of my Transp'n; but even in this I c'd not cont'e for the jolt'g was so g't that I was left upon the Road with a Guard and necess'rys, to wait the Arr'l of Colo. Dunbar's Detach. wh'h was 2 days M. behind. The Genl. giving me his w'd of hon'r that I sh'd be brought up before he reach'd the French Fort; this promise, and the Doct'rs threats that if I persever'd it wou'd endanger my Life, determin'd my halting for the above Detach't.

As I expect the Comn. bet'n this and Wills Ck. will soon be too dangerous for single persons to pass, it will possibly stop the interc'e of Letters in any measure; therefore I shall attempt (and will go through if I have strength) to give you an acct. of my proceedings, of our situation, and of our prospects at present; which I desire you may com'e to Colo. Fairfax, and my Corrsp'ds, for I am too weak to write more than this Letter. In the L'r wh'ch I wrote fr'm Georges C'k, I acq'd you that unless the numb'r of Wag'ns were retrenched and the carry'g Hs. in cr'd that we never sh'd be able to see Duquisne: this, in 2 Days afterwards (w'ch was abt. the time they got to the little Meadows with some of their F. Waggons and strongest Teams, they themselves were convinced off, for they found that beside the almost impos'y of gett'g the wag'ns along at all; that they had often a rear of 3 or 4 miles of Waggons; and that the Sold'rs Guarding them were so dispersed that if we had been attack'd either in Front, Center, or Rear the part so attack'd must have been cut off and totally dispersed before they cou'd be properly sustained by any other Corps.

At the little Mead'ws there was a 2d. Council call'd, for there had been one before wherein it was represented to all the Off'rs of the diff't Corps the gt. necessity there was for Hs. and how laudable it wd. be to retrench their Baggage and offer the

spare Hs. for the Publick Service. In order to encourage this I gave up my best Horse, (w'ch I have nev'r h'd of since) and took no more baggage than half my Portmanteau w'd easily cont'n. It was also sd. that the numb'r were to be lessen'd;[34] but there was only from 210 or 12, to 200 w'ch had no perceivable difference.

The Genl. before they met in Council ask'd my priv'e Opin'n concern'g the Exp'n. I urg'd it in the warmest terms I was Master off, to push on; if we even did it with a chos'n Detacht. for that purpose, with the Artillery and such other things as were absolutely necessary; leav'g the baggage and other Convoys with the Remainder of the Army, to follow by slow and regular Marches, which they might do safely, while we were advanced in Front. As one Reason to support this Opinion, I inform'd the [Genl.] if we c'd cred't our Intelligence, the French were weak at the Forks but hourly expect'd reinf'ts, w'ch to my certain knowledge cou'd not arrive with Pro'vns or any Supplies dur'g the continuance of the Droughth as the Buffalo River down w'ch is their only comm'n to Venango, must be as Dry as we now f'd the g't xing of the Youghe., w'ch may be pass'd dry shod. This was a Scheme that took, and it was det'd that the Genl. with 1200 chosen Men and Officers of all the differ't Corps, with the following Field Officer's (viz,; Sr. Pet'r Halkett who acts as Brigadier, Lt. Colo. Gage, Lt. C. Burton, and Majr. Sparke, with such a certain number of Waggons as the Train w'd absolutely require, shou'd March as soon as things cou'd be got in readiness for them, which was compleated, and we on our March by the 19th, leav'g Colo. Dunbar and Majr. Chapman, with the residue of the two Reg's, Companys most of the women and in short every thing

[34] Washington clarified this by his 1784–85 correction: "It is said however that the numbrs. reduced by this 2d. attempt was only from 210 or 12, to 200."

behind except such Provision's and other necessary's as we took and carried upon Horses.

We set out with less than 30 Carriages (Incl'g all those that transported the Howetzers, 12 prs. and 6 p'rs., etc.), and all of those strongly Horsed; which was a prospect that convey'd the most infinite delight to me tho' I was excessively ill at the time. But this prospect was soon over turn'd and all my sanguine hopes brought very low when I found, that instead of pushing on with vigour, without regarding a little rough Road, they were halting to level every Mold Hill, and to erect Bridges over every Brook; by which means we were 4 Days gett'g 12 Miles; where I was left by the Doct'r's Advice and the Genl's absolute Orders, otherwise I wou'd not have been prevailed upon to remain behind my own Detach't as I then imagin'd, and believ'd I shall now find it not very easy to join my own Corps again, which is 25 Miles advance'd before us; tho' I had the Genls. word of Hon'r pledg'd in the most solemn manner, that I sh'd be b't up before he arrived at Duquisne. They have had frequent Alarms, and several Men scalp'd; but this is only done to retard the March, and to harass the Men if they are to be turn'd out every time a small party of them attack the Guards at Night; (for I am certain, they have not sufficient strength to make head against the whole.

I have been now 6 Days with Colo. Dunbar's Corps, who are in a miserable Condition for want of Horses, not hav'g more one half enough for their Wag'ns; so that the only method he has of proceedings, is to March on himself with as many Waggons as those will draw, and then Halt till the Remainder are brought up which requires two Days more; and I believe shortly he will not be able to stir at all; but there has been vile

management in regard to Horses and while I am mention'g this, I must not forget to desire, that you'll acq't Colo. G. Fx. that I have made the most strick enquiry after his Man and Horses, but can hear nothing of either; at least nothing that can be credited. I was told that the Fellow was taken ill upon the Road while he was with Sr. Jno. St. Clair's Detacht. the certainty of this I can't answer for, but I believe there is nothing more cert'n than that he is not with any part of the Army. And unless the Horses stray and make home themselves, I believe there is 1000 to 1 against his ever seeing them again: for I gave up a horse only one Day, and never cou'd see or hear of him afterwards: My strength wont admit me to say more, tho' I have not said half what I intended con'g our Aff'rs here. Business, I shall not think of, but dep'd solely upon your man't. of all my aff'rs, and doubt not but that they will be well conducted. You may thank my f'ds for the Lett'rs I have rec'd w'ch has not been one from any Mortal since I left Fairfax, except yourself and Mr. Dalton. It is a piece of regard and kindness which I sh'd end'r to acknow'e was I able and suffer'd to write. All your Letters to me I w'd have you send to Mr. Cocks of Winchester or to Govr. Innis at Fort Cumberland, and then you may be cert'n of their com'g safe to hand otherwise I can't say as much. Make my Complim'ts to all who think me worthy of their Enquirys.

P. S. July 2d. A Great Misfortune has attended me in my sickness was, the looseing the use of my Servant, for poor Jno.[35] was taken abt. the same time that I was, with near the same disorder; and was confin'd as long; so that we did not see each other for several Days. he is also tolerably well recover'd. We

[35] John Alton.

are sure advan'd almost as far as the g't Meadows; and I shall set out to morrow morning for my own Corps, with an Escort of 100 Men which is to guard some Provision's up; so that my Fears and doubts on that head are quite remov'd. I had a Letter yesterday from Orme, who writes me word that they have pass'd the Youghyangane for the last time, that they have sent out Partys to scour the Country thereabouts and have Reason to believe that the French are greatly alarm'd at their approach.

*To ROBERT ORME

Great Crossing, June 30, 1755.

Dear Orme: I came to this Camp on thursday last, with the Rear of Colo. Dunbar's Detach't and shou'd have continued on with his Front, to day, but was prevented by Rain.

My Fevers are very moderate, and I hope are near a Crisis; when I shall have nothing to encounter but excessive weakness, and the difficulty in getting to you; which I wou'd not fail in doing ere you reach Duquisne, for 500 £, but I have no doubt of doing this, as the General has given me his word and honour, in the most solemn manner.

As the Doct'r thinks it imprudent for me to use much exercise for 2 or 3 days, it will prevent my coming up; therefore, I shou'd be glad to be advised of your Marches from Gist's, and how you are likely to get on, for you may rest asusred that Colo. Dunbar cannot get from his present Incampment[36] in less than two or three Days; and I believe really, it will be as much as he possibly can do to reach the Meadows at all; so that you will be greatly advanc'd before us. I am too weak to

[36] Colonel Dunbar had advanced 7 miles beyond the Great Meadows, which was the position of his camp at the time of the action. Here he remained till he was met by General Braddock and his flying troops after the defeat at the Monongahela, when he destroyed his baggage and speedily retreated with the whole army to Fort Cumberland.—*Sparks.*

add more than my Comp'ts to the Genl., Family, &c. and again to desire that you will oblige me in the above request, and advise the most effectual means for me to join you, I am Dr. Orme, etc.

*To COLONEL JAMES INNES

Camp between the Gt. xing and Meadows, July 2, 1755.

Dear Sir: I shou'd take it infinitely kind, if you w'd be good enough to dispatch, by the first safe oppertunitys, after they come to hand, any Letters that you may receive either to, or from me; for I have been greatly surprised at not receiving any Letter's from my Friends since I came out; and must impute it to miscarriage, somewhere, for, I am certain it cannot be owing to their not writing.

I have been excessively ill, but am now recovering from violent Fevers and Pains, of w'ch my disorder consisted.

The Doctor's forbid me writing as very injurious to my health; therefore I cannot have the pleasure of giving you a particular acct. of our situation, &c. but I shall refer you to Mr. Caton, who has had an oppertunity of seeing the whole. I am etc.

*MEMORANDUM

[July 9, 1755.]

The 8th of July I rejoined (in a covered Waggon) the advanced division of the Army under the immediate Com'd of the General. On the 9th I attended him on horse back tho' very weak and low. On this day he was attacked and defeated by a party of French and Indians adjudged not to exceed 300. When all hope of rallying the dismayed troops and recovering the ground, our provisions and stores being given up I was ordered to Dunbar's Camp.[37]

[37] This note was added by Washington to the 1755 "Letter Book" in 1785.

*To COLONEL JAMES INNES[38]

Little Meadows, July 15, 1755.

Sir: Captn. Orme being confined to his Litter and not well able to write, has desir'd me to acknowledge the receipt of your's; He begs the favour of you to have the room that the Gen'l. lodg'd in prepar'd for Colo. Burton, himself, and Capt. Morris, who are all wounded; also, that some small place may be had where convenient for Cooking; and, that if any fresh Provn. and other suitable necessarys for persons in their infirm condition, may be had, that you will be kind enough to engage it. He also begs, that, you will order the present w'ch was sent by Governour Morris to the Genl. and his Family, into the care of Mr. A. le Roy, the Steward, who is sent on for that, and other purposes. The Horses, that carry the wounded Gent'n. in Litters are so much fatigued that we dread their performance, therefore, it is desir'd that you will be kind enough to send out 8 or 10 fresh horses for their relief, which will enable us to reach the Fort this Evening. I doubt not but you have had an acot. of the poor Genl.'s death by some of the affrighted Waggoners, who ran off without taking leave. I am, etc. Sir,

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Honbl. Sir: As I am favour'd with an oppertunity, I shou'd think myself excusable was I to omit giv'g you some acct. of our late Engagem't with the French on the Monongahela the 9th. Inst.

We continued our March from Fort Cumberland to Frazier's (which is within 7 Miles of Duquisne) with't meet'g with any extraordinary event, hav'g only a stragler or two

[38] General Braddock had left Colonel Innes with the command at Wills Creek, under the title of Governor of Fort Cumberland.—*Sparks.*

picked up by the French Indians. When we came to this place, we were attack'd (very unexpectedly I must own) by abt. 300 French and Ind'ns; Our numbers consisted of abt. 1300 well arm'd Men, chiefly Regular's, who were immediately struck with such a deadly Panick, that nothing but confusion and disobedience of order's prevail'd amongst them: The Officer's in gen'l behav'd with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffer'd, there being near 60 kill'd and wound'd. A large proportion, out of the number we had! The Virginian Companies behav'd like Men and died like Soldiers; for I believe out of the 3 Companys that were there that day, scarce 30 were left alive: Captn. Peyrouny and all his Officer's, down to a Corporal, were kill'd; Captn. Polson shar'd almost as hard a Fate, for only one of his Escap'd: In short the dastardly behaviour of the English Soldier's expos'd all those who were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain Death; and at length, in despight of every effort to the contrary, broke and run as Sheep before the Hounds, leav'g the Artillery, Ammunition, Provisions, and, every individual thing we had with us a prey to the Enemy; and when we endeavour'd to rally them in hopes of regaining our invaluable loss, it was with as much success as if we had attempted to have stop'd the wild Bears of the Mountains.[39] The Genl. was wounded behind in the shoulder, and into the Breast, of w'ch he died three days after; his two Aids de Camp were both wounded, but are in a fair way of Recovery; Colo. Burton and Sir Jno. St. Clair are also wounded, and I hope will get over it; Sir Peter Halket, with many other brave Officers were kill'd in the Field. I luckily escap'd with't a wound tho' I had four Bullets through my Coat and two Horses shot under me. It is suppose that we left 300 or

[39] "Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions were destroyed for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to send for thirty horse loads of the latter before he reached Fort Cumberland, where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops."—*Review of the Military Operations in North America.*

more dead in the Field; about that number we brought of wounded; and it is imagin'd (I believe with great justice too) that two thirds of both [?][40] received their shott from our own cowardly English Soldier's who gather'd themselves into a body contrary to orders 10 or 12 deep, wou'd then level, Fire and shoot down the Men before them.

I tremble at the consequences that this defeat may have upon our back settlers, who I suppose will all leave their habitations unless there are proper measures taken for their security.

Colo. Dunbar, who commands at present, intends so soon as his Men are recruited at this place, to continue his March to Phila. into Winter Quarters:[41] so that there will be no Men left here unless it is the poor remains of the Virginia Troops, who survive and will be too small to guard our Frontiers. As Captn. Orme is writg. to your honour I doubt not but he will give you a circumstantial acct. of all things, which will make it needless for me to add more than that I am, etc.

*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON

[Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.]

Honour'd Mad'm: As I doubt not but you have heard of our defeat, and perhaps have it represented in a worse light (if possible) than it deserves; I have taken this earliest oppertunity to give you some acct. of the Engagement, as it happen'd within 7 miles of the French Fort, on Wednesday the 9th. Inst.

[40] Two words obliterated.

[41] The regulars laid the responsibility of defeat on the provincials, alleging "that they were harassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited through want of provisions; that time was not allowed them to dress their food; that their water (the only liquor, too, they had) was both scarce and of a bad quality; in fine, that the provincials had disheartened them by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat should they be attacked by Indians, in which case the European method of fighting would be entirely unavailing."—*Review of the Military Operations in North America* (1753 to 1756). The *Gentleman's Magazine* asserted these same forces—Irish, Scotch, and English—ran away "shamefully" at Prestonpans. The news of Braddock's defeat "struck a

We March'd on to that place with't any considerable loss, having only now and then a stragler pick'd up by the French Scoutg. Ind'nd. When we came there, we were attack'd by a Body of French and Indns. whose number, (I am certain) did not exceed 300 Men; our's consisted of abt. 1,300 well arm'd Troops; chiefly of the English Soldiers, who were struck with such a panick, that they behav'd with more cowardice than it is possible to conceive; The Officers behav'd Gallantly in order to encourage their Men, for which they suffer'd greatly; there being near 60 kill'd and wounded; a large proportion out of the number we had! The Virginia Troops shew'd a good deal of Bravery, and were near all kill'd; for I believe out of 3 Companys that were there, there is scarce 30 Men left alive; Capt. Peyrouny and all his Officer's down to a Corporal was kill'd; Capt. Polson shar'd near as hard a Fate; for only one of his was left: In short the dastardly behaviour of those they call regular's expos'd all others that were inclin'd to do their duty to almost certain death; and at last, in dispight of all the efforts of the Officer's to the Contrary, they broke and run as Sheep pursued by dogs; and it was impossible to rally them.

The Genl. was wounded; of w'ch he died 3 Days after; Sir Peter Halket was kill'd in the Field where died many other brave Officer's; I luckily escap'd with't a wound, tho' I had four Bullets through my Coat, and two Horses shot under me; Captns. Orme and Morris two of the Genls. Aids de Camp, were wounded early in the Engagem't. which render'd

general damp on the spirits of the soldiers" in Shirley's and Pepperell's regiments, and many deserted. "I must leave a proper number in each county to protect it from the combinations of the negro slaves, who have been very audacious on the defeat on the Ohio. These poor creatures imagine the French will give them their freedom."—*Dinwiddie to Earl of Halifax,* July 23, 1755.

Dinwiddie wished Dunbar to remain and make a new attempt on Duquesne; but a council of officers unanimously decided the scheme was impracticable, and on the next day (August 2) began his march toward Philadelphia.

the duty hard upon me, as I was the only person then left to distribute the Genl's. Orders which I was scarcely able to do, as I was not half recover'd from a violent illness, that confin'd me to my Bed, and a Waggon, for above 10 Days; I am still in a weak and Feeble cond'n; which induces me to halt here, 2 or 3 Days in hopes of recov'g. a little Strength, to enable me to proceed homewards; from whence, I fear I shall not be able to stir till towards Sept., so that I shall not have the pleasure of seeing you till then, unless it be in Fairfax; please to give my love to Mr. Lewis and my Sister,[42] and Compts. to Mr. Jackson[43] and all other Fds. that enquire after me. I am, Hon'd Madam Yr. most dutiful Son

P. S. You may acqt. Priscilla Mullican that her Son Charles is very well, hav'g only rec'd a slight w'd in his Foot, w'ch will be cur'd with't detrimt. to him, in a very small time.

We had abt. 300 Men kill'd and as many, and more, wounded.

*To JOHN AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON

Fort Cumberland, July 18, 1755.

Dear Jack: As I have heard since my arriv'l at this place, a circumstantial acct. of my death and dying speech, I take this early oppertunity of contradicting both, and of assuring you that I now exist and appear in the land of the living by the miraculous care of Providence, that protected me beyond all human expectation; I had 4 Bullets through my Coat, and two Horses shot under me, and yet escaped unhurt.[44]

[42] Fielding Lewis, who married Elizabeth (Betty) Washington.

[43] Probably Robert Jackson, one of the witnesses to Augustine Washington's will.

[44] The 1784–85 change is as follows: "oppertunity of contradicting the first and of assuring you that I have not as yet, composed the latter. But by the all powerful dispensatns. of Providence, I have been protected beyond all human probability and expectation for I had 4 Bullets" etc.

We have been most scandalously beaten by a trifling body of men; but fatigue and want of time prevents me from giving any of the details till I have the happiness of seeing you at home; which I now most ardently wish for, since we are drove in thus far. A Weak and Feeble state of Health, obliges me to halt here for 2 or 3 days, to recover a little strength, that I may thereby be enabled to proceed homewards with more ease; You may expect to see me there on Saturday or Sunday Se'night, which is as soon as I can well be down as I shall take my Bull-skin Plantation's in my way.[45] Pray give my Compl'ts to all my F'ds. I am Dr. Jack, y'r most Affect. Broth'r

*To ROBERT ORME

Mount Vernon, July 28, 1755.

My Dear Orme: I arrived at Home the day before yesterday, without meeting with an Egachee,[46] or any other remarkable event. I called at Belhavem purposely to acquaint Majr. Carlyle with your desire, who will use all possible means to procure a Vessel though I fear it will be somewhat difficult

[45] He arrived at Mount Vernon on July 26. He still retained the office of adjutant of the northern division of militia, and immediately wrote to the county lieutenants, ordering the militia to be ready and properly equipped in each county on certain days, when he should be present to review and exercise them. Such was the alarm created by the success of the French at Braddock's Defeat that volunteer companies embodied themselves in different parts of Virginia to march to the frontiers. The Rev. Samuel Davies, at that time a clergyman in Hanover County, preached a sermon to one of these companies on August 17, which was printed in Philadelphia and London, and entitled *Religion and Patriotism the Constituents of a Good Soldier*. After applauding the patriotic spirit and military ardor, which had begun to manifest themselves, the preacher adds: "As a remarkable instance of this, I may point out to the public that heroic youth, Colonel Washington, whom I cannot but hope Providence has has hitherto preserved in so signal a manner for some important service to his country."—*Sparks*.

[46] It is possible that Orme and other army friends of Washington who had been wounded but survived the action at the Monongahela, rallied Washington on being a favorite of the gods because of his scathless escape from the massacre. This would permit the word "egachee" to be interpreted as ægises, in the sense of a protective influence, a plural which Washington spelled by its sound to him. An old spelling of ægis is egis.

at present as the Shipping have most of them employ'd, in transporting the Tobo. from the diff't. Warehouses

It is impossible to relate the difft. accts. that was given of our late unhappy Engagem't; but all tend'd, greatly to the disadvantage of the poor deceas'd Genl., who is censur'd on all hands. As I have no cert'n conveyance for this Letter I shall only add my sincere compt's to Morris, Burton, George and Dobson and shall take an oppertunity of writ'g to you at Philidelphia, and of being more particular, I am my Dear Orme, etc.

I shou'd take it particularly kind if Morris wou'd get the Order's copied from the 6th. of June to the 9th. of July, and send them to me by the first safe conveyance.

*To BENJAMIN GRYMES[47]

Mount Vernon, July 31, 1755.

Sir: I don't remember to have receiv'd more than one letter from you, and that I shou'd have answer'd; but knowing that I cou'd give you no satisfactory acct. myself, of your Bed &c., I thought it more advisable to desire Doctr. Walker[48] to enquire of Mr. Gist,[49] and of Colo. Cresap[50] (at whose Ho. I perfectly remember the great Tent was left) concerning them, and to let you know their answer.

I have since recollected, and think I am very certain, that Vanbraam (who was left out after Gist and I came off on Foot) charged with these and other things, told me that after hav'g most of his Horses tire, he was oblig'd to leave your

[47] After Grymes returned from England he was elected to the Virginia House of Burgesses.

[48] Dr. Thomas Walker, formerly a major in the British Army, whose daughter Sarah was the second wife of Hon. William Fairfax and the mother of George William Fairfax.

[49] Christopher Gist.

[50] Col. Thomas Cresap, one of the famous Colonial frontiersmen.

things, with many of my own, out at Mr. Gists Ho. where they must have been burnt and destroy'd with his Plantation.[51]

If you are going to England I heartily wish you a good Voyage, and the attainment of your utmost desires. I am Sir, etc.

*To ROBERT JACKSON

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Dr. Sir: I must acknowledge you had great reason to be terrified with the first acc'ts, that was given of our unhappy defeat, and I must own, I was not a little surpris'd to find that Governor Innis was the means of alarming the Country with a report of that extraordinary nature, without having any better confirmation of the truth, than an affrighted waggoner's story. Its true, we have been beaten, most shamefully beaten, by a handful of Men! who only intended to molest and disturb our March; Victory was their smallest expectation, but see the wondrous works of Providence! the uncertainty of Human things! We, but a few moments before, believ'd our number's almost equal to the Canadian Force; they only expected to annoy us. Yet, contrary to all expectation and human probability, and even to the common course of things, we were totally defeated, sustain'd the loss of every thing; which they have got, are enrichen'd and strengthened by it. This, as you observe, must be an affecting story to the Colony; and will, no doubt, license the tongues of People to censure those they think most blamably; which by the by, often falls very wrongfully. I join very heartily with you in believing that when this story comes to be related in future Annals, it will meet with ridicule or indignation; for had I not been witness to the fact on that fatal Day, I sh'd scarce give credit to it now.

[51] The tent, bed, and other things which were carried on Washington's journey to Fort Le Bœuf in 1753–54.

Whenever it suits you to come into Fairfax I hope you will make your home at Mount Vernon. Please to give my Compts. to all inquiring Friends; and I assure you, nothing cou'd have added greater satisfaction to my safe return, than hearing of the friendly concern that was express'd on my suppos'd Death. I am, &c.

*To AUGUSTINE WASHINGTON[52]

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Dear Brother: The pleasure of your Company at Mount Vernon always did, and always will, afford me infinite satisfaction; but at this time, I am *too* truly sensible how needful the Country is of the assistance of all its members, to desire to hear that any are absent.[53] I most sincerely wish that harmony and unanimity may prevail amongst you, and that a happy issue may attend your prudent resolutions.

I am not able were I ever so willing, to meet you in Town, for I assure you it is with some difficulty and with fatigue that I visit my Plantation's in the Neck, so much has a sickness of five weeks' continuance reduced me: But tho it is not in my power to meet you there, I can nevertheless assure you, and other's (who it may concern to borrow a phrase from Governor Innes) that I am so little dispirited at what has happen'd, that I am always ready and always willing, to do my Country any Services that I am capable off; but never upon the Terms I have done, having suffer'd much in my private fortune, besides impairing one of the best of Constitution's.

I was employ'd to go a journey in the Winter (when I believe few or none wou'd have undertaken it) and what did I get by it? my expenses borne! I then was appointed with trifling Pay to conduct an handful of Men to the Ohio. What

[52]Augustine Washington was half brother to George and full brother to Lawrence; he was then at Williamsburg as a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses.

[53]Absent from the legislature.

did I get by this? Why, after putting myself to a considerable expence in equipping and providing necessarys for the Campaigne I went out, was soundly beaten, lost them all—came in, and had my Commission taken from me or, in other words my Com'd, reduced, under pretence of an Order from home. I then went out a Volunteer with Genl. Braddock and lost all my Horses and many other things, but this being a voluntary act, I shou'd not have mention'd it, was it not to shew that I have been upon the loosing order ever since I enter'd the Service, which is now near two year's; so that I think I can't be blam'd, shou'd I, if I leave my Family again, end'vr. to do it upon such terms as to prevent my sufferg., (to gain by it, is the least of my expectation).

I doubt not but you have heard the particulars of our shameful defeat, which really was so scandalous that I hate to have it mention'd. You desire to know what Artillery was taken in the late Engt; it is easily told, we lost all that we carr'd out, save 2 Six pound'rs, and a few Cohorns that were left with Colo. Dunbar; and the Cohorns have since been destroy'd to expedate his flight. You also ask whether I think the Forces can March this Fall. I must answer, I think it impossible, for them to do the French any damage (unless it be by starv'g) for want of a proper Train of Artillery; yet they may be very serviceable in erect'g small Fortresses at convenient places to deposit provisions in, by which the Country will be eas'd of an immense expence in the Carriage, and it will also be a mean's of securing a Retreat if we sh'd be put to the Rout again; the success of this tho' will dep'd gre'tly upon what Gov'r. Shirley does at Niagara, for if he succeeds, their Comn. with Canada will be entirely stop'd.

It is impossible for me to guess at the number of recruits that may be want'g, as that must depend altogeth'r upon the strength of the French on the Ohio, w'ch to my g't. astonishm't we were ever strangers to.

I thank you very heartily for your kind offer of a Chr. and for your goodness in sending my things; and, after begg'g you excuse the imperfect'ns. of the above which in part are owing to hav'g much Comp'y that hurrys me I shall conclude Dr. Sir, Yr. most Afft. Broth'r.

*To EACH COUNTY LIEUTENANT IN THE NORTHERN DISTRICT

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Sir: I intend myself the honour of waitg. upon your County, in order to exercise the Militia; and shou'd be glad if you wou'd appoint your Officer's to meet me at the Court Ho., or some other convenient place with a Firelock, Ammunition, &c. on the of September next, and the Militia properly accoutre'd, the day following. I am Sir, etc.

Fairfax	Officers	31st	1st. Militia
Prince Wm		4	5
Culpeper		8	9
Stafford		12	13
King George		15	16
Westmoreland		19	20
Richmond		22	23
Northumberland		26	27
Lancaster		29	30

September

*To COLIN CAMPBELL

Mount Vernon, August 2, 1755.

Sir: [The Army und'r the Com'd of G: Braddock has met with an unfortunate defeat, which has occasioned my ret'n][54] from the Ohio; [This circumstance enables me to order] the

[54] The bracketed portions of this letter are the readings as changed in 1784–85. Washington made the erasures with a knife, and the original wording is completely obliterated.

Militia of the several Countys in my district, to meet me and I have therefore taken this earliest oppertunity of inform'g you of it; that you may not be troubled ab't any but Eastern Shore Countys, unless you will undertake to exercise the whole (saving the two Frontier Countys viz Fairfax and Prince Wm. which I will take the trouble off) for the Consideration of 40£'s if you accept of this offer, I shou'd be glad to know it before the first of Sept. and I have enclos'd you a Mem'm. of the appointed times that I have desir'd the Officer's, and Militia of each County to meet, that you may proceed accordingly. I am Sir, etc.

*To MRS. MARY WASHINGTON

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Honor'd Madam: If it is in my power to avoid going to the Ohio again, I shall, but if the Command is press'd upon me by the genl. voice of the Country, and offer'd upon such terms as can't be objected against, it wou'd reflect eternal dishonour upon me to refuse it; and that, I am sure must, or ought, to give you greater cause of uneasiness than my going in an honourable Com'd.; for upon no other terms I will accept of it if I do at all; at present I have no proposals or any mention made abt. it only from private hands. I am etc.

*To WARNER LEWIS[55]

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Dear Sir: After returning the most sincere and grateful thanks for your kind condolence on my late indisposition; and for the too generous, and give me leave further to say,

[55] Warner Lewis's letter is not in the *Washington Papers* in the Library of Congress; it was inclosed in a letter from Charles Lewis to Washington, which is among those papers, and is printed in S. M. Hamilton's *Letters to Washington* (Boston: 1898), vol. 1, p. 75.

partial opinion you have entertain'd of my ability's; I must express my concern for not having it in my power to meet you, and other Friends, who have signified their desire of seeing me (in Williamsburg). Your Letter only came to hand at nine last Night, and you inform me of the Assembly breaking up the latter end of the Week, which allows a time too short to perform a journey of 160 miles distance particularly by a person in my weak and feeble condition altho' I am happily recover'd from the low ebb to w'ch I was reduced by a sickness of near 5 Weeks continuance. Had I got timely notice, I wou'd have attempted the ride by slow and easy journeys, if it had been only for the satisfaction of seeing my Friends, who I flatter myself from what you say, are kind enough to sympathise in my good, and evil Fortunes.

The Chief Reason (next to indisposition) that prev'd me from coming down to this Assembly was a determination not to offer myself, and that determination proceeded from the following Reason's. 1st. a belief that I cou'd not get a command upon such terms as I shou'd care to accept;[56] as I must confess I never will quit my Family, injure my Fortune, and (above all) impair my health to run the risque of such Changes and Vicissitudes as I have done; but shall now expect, if I am employ'd again, to have something certain again, was I to have

[56] While Colonel Washington was writing this letter he had already been appointed to the command. The assembly voted £40,000 for the public service, and the governor and council immediately resolved to increase the Virginia Regiment to 16 companies. In the same same act the assembly also granted to George Washington the sum of £300, to the captains £75 each, to the lieutenants and surgeon £30, and to every soldier £5 as "a reward and compensation for their gallant behaviour and losses," at the Monongahela. Washington's grant was for his losses sustained.

"I have granted commissions to raise sixteen companies, to augment our forces to one thousand men, and have incorporated them into a regiment. The command thereof is given to Colonel George Washington, who was one of General Braddock's aids-de-camp, and I think a man of great merit and resolution. Our officers are greatly dispirited for want of his Majesty's commissions, that, when they join the regulars they may have some rank; and I am persuaded it would be of infinite service, if his Majesty would graciously please to honor them with his commissions, the same as General Shirley's and Sir Willliam Pepperell's regiments; and I am

the command, I shou'd insist upon somethings which ignorance and inexperience made me overlook before, particularly that of having the Officers in some measure appointed *with* my advice, and with my concurrence; for I must say, I think a commanding Officer not hav'g this liberty appear's to me to be one of the strangest thing in Life, when it is well known how much the conduct and bravery of an Officer influences the Men; how much a Commanding Officer is answerable for the behaviour of the inferiour Officer's; and how much his good or ill success in time of action depends upon the conduct of each particular Officer; especially in this kind of Fighting, where being dispers'd, each and every of them at that immediate time, has greater liberty to misbehave than if he were regularly, and compactly drawn up under the Eyes of their superior Officer's. However on the other hand, how little credit is given to a Commander, who perhaps after a defeat, in relating the cause justly lays the blame on some individual whose cowardly behav'r betray'd the whole to ruin; how little does the World consider the Circumstances, and how apt are mankind to level their vindictive Censures against the unfortunate Chief, who perhaps merited least of the blame. Does it not appear then that the appointing of Officers is a thing of the utmost consequence; a thing that shou'd require the greatest circumspection; ought it to be left to blind chance? or what

convinced, if General Braddock had survived, he would have recommended Mr. Washington to the royal favor, which I beg your interest in recommending."—*Dinwiddie to Sir Thomas Robinson,* Sept. 6, 1755.

Washington's commission from Dinwiddie, dated Aug. 14, 1755, appointed him colonel of the Virginia Regiment and commander in chief of all the forces now raised and to be raised for the defense of his Majesty's colony and for repelling the unjust and hostile invasions of the French and their Indian allies. A peculiar sense of economy inspired Dinwiddie to specially note that Washington's pay commenced September 1. In the instructions accompanying the commission the French are accused of unjustly invading his Majesty's lands on the Ohio; the Virginia Regiment is to consist of 16 companies; goods and presents were to be purchased for the Indians; morality and virtue were to be inculcated among the troops and drunkenness and swearing were to be punished. The text of Washington's commission and instructions are printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers,* vol. 2, pp. 184–187.

is still worse, to a forced partiality? Shou'd it not be left to a Man whose powers and what is still dearer, whose honour depends upon their good Examples.

There are necessary Officer's yet wanting, which no Provision have been made for. A small Military Chest is so absolutely necessary, that it is impossible to do without, nor no Man can conduct an affair of this kind who has it not. These things I shou'd expect, was I appointed.

But, besides all these, I had other Reasons wh'h with'd me f'm offering. I believe our Circumstances are now to that unhappy Dilemma that no Man can gain any Honour by conduct'g our Forces at this time, but rather loose in his reputation; for I am very confid't the progress must be slow for want of conveniences to transport our Provisions &c. over the Mountains and this chiefly occasion'd, by the late ill treatm't of the Waggoner's and Horse driver's, who have rec'd little for their Lab'r and noth'g for their lost Hors's and Wag'ns; w'ch will be an infallible mean's of prevent'g all from assist'g that are not oblig'd; so that I am truly sensible, whoever undertakes it will meet with such insurmountable obstacles that he will be soon look'd upon in the very light of an idle, indolent body, have his conduct censured and perhaps meet with opprobious abuse, when it is as much out of his power to avoid these delays as to com'd the rag'g Seas in a Storm. Seeing these things in the above light that I did, had no small influence upon me, as I was pretty much assur'd I shou'd loose what at present constitutes the chief part of my happiness, i. e. the esteem and notice the Country has been pleas'd to honour me with.

It is possible you may infer from what I have said that my intention's is to decline at all events, but my meaning is entirely different: I was determin'd not to offer, because to solicit the Command and at the same time to make my proposals I

thought wou'd look a little incongruous, and to carry a face of too much self sufficiency, as if I imagin'd there were none other's equally (if not more) capable of conducting the affair than myself; But if the command shou'd be offer'd the case is then alter'd as I am at liberty to make such objection's as my Reason and my small experience have pointed out. I hope you'll make my Comp's to all inquiring F'ds. I am Dr. Warner Y'r etc.

*To CHARLES LEWIS

Mount Vernon, August 14, 1755.

Dear Sir: I return most unfeigned thanks for your hearty demonstrations of Friendship, in kind congratulation's on my safe return, and I wish dear Charles, it was more in my power than it is to answer the favourable opinion my Friends have conceiv'd of my abilitys, let them not be deceiv'd, I am unequal to the Task, and do assure you it requires more experience than I am master of to conduct an affair of the importance that this is now arisen to.

If I do go, I shou'd think myself happy in havg. you of our party, if you have reconcil'd it perfectly to yourself and Family, otherwise I think you wou'd be blameable to involve them in so much uneasiness as your absence will necessaryly give; I have wrote fully to your Broth'r Wnr. to whom I must refer you for further particular's I am Dr. Charles, etc.

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE RECRUITING OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT

[Williamsburg], September [3], 1755.

First; That each Captain shall, by beat of Drum or otherwise, Raise Thirty men; Each Lieutenant Eighteen; and each Ensign, Twelve men.

Secondly: That each Captain shall appoint proper Persons to act as non-commissioned Officers, during their Recruiting Service: But those non-commissioned Officers, so appointed, are not to be confirmed, 'till approved of by me, or a Field Officer for that purpose.

Thirdly: That no Officer shall list any Men under Sixteen, or above Fifty years of age: Nor are they to list men under five feet four Inches high, unless they are well made, strong, and active; then, and in that case, they will be received.

Neither are they to list any men who have old Sores upon their legs, or who are subject to Fits; which will be inspected into by the Surgeons, upon their arrival at Quarters: and such as are found to come under these Articles, will be discharged; and the Officers have no allowance made.

Fourthly: That, when each Recruiting Officer has listed his Complement of Men, he is immediately to repair to the Place of Rendezvouz; which I hope, and expect, will be by the first day of October next: but if in case the whole should not be complete by that time; it is then my Orders, that each Captain shall forthwith send one of his Subalterns with all the Recruits, to the quarters assigned him, and remain with the other Subaltern to complete his Company, with all imaginable Diligence. There will be a Field Officer to receive, review, and examine the Recruits that are brought in; who will have power to reject and discharge, such as come under the above Articles.

Fifthly: That, for each Recruit that is passed by such Field Officer, the Officer who Listed him, shall receive two Pistoles, and an allowance of eight-pence per Day for Subsistance, from the day of his attestation, to the day of his being received into the Regiment.

Sixthly: That all Recruits, so soon as they are Listed, are to take the Oaths provided for that purpose; which is to be attested by the Magistrate who administered them.

Their Stature, Complexion, and so forth, is to be taken also, and entered by the Recruiting Officer in a Book kept for that purpose.

Seventhly: That no Officer shall bring in any charge against his Men for Necessaries; Each man *being* to receive full Cloathing, on his arrival at the place of Rendezvous.

Lastly: That when you are on the Recruiting Service, and on your March; you are to observe the same good Order and Discipline, as in Camp or in Quarters; and you are to conform yourself, in every respect, to the Rules and Articles of War. Given under my hand etc.

All the Officers then present received the foregoing Instructions, and money for Recruiting; and some of them were appointed to act 'till further Orders, as followeth: Viz. To Captain Spotswoods[57] Company, Lieutenant Lomax[58] and Ensign Carter,[59] were ordered to do Duty as Subalterns: and to Captain Harrison; Lieutenant John Hall; Ensign Nathaniel Thompson. To Captain Lewis; Lieutenant Peter Steenbergen; Ensign Edward Hubard. To Captain Peachy,[60] Lieutenant John Williams; Ensign William Dangerfield. To Captain Bell, Lieutenant John Campbell; Ensign William Fleming. To Captain McKenzie,[61] Lieutenant James Baker, Ensign Leonard Price.

And were ordered by their Instructions, to Rendezvous as followeth:

Fredericksburgh; Captain Spotswood, and Company, Captain Harrison, and Company, Captain Lewis, and Company. Winchester; Captain Bell, and Company; Alexandria; Captain Peachy, and Company; Captain McKenzie, and Company.

[57] Capt. Robert Spotswood.
[58] Lieut. John Edward Lomax.
[59] Ensign Thomas Carter.
[60] Capt. William Peachy.
[61] Capt. Robert McKenzie.

The other Subalterns then present, videlicet; Lieutenant's Brockenbrough, Lowry[62] and King: Ensigns, Millner,[63] Dean and Weedon;[64] who were not appointed to any particular Companies, were ordered to Rendezvous at

Fredericksburg; Lieutenant Lowry; Ensign Weedon; Alexandria; Lieutenant Brockenbrough, Lieutenant John King, Ensign John Dean.

And received the following Orders.

To LIEUTENANT AUSTIN BROCKENBROUGH

[September 3, 1755.]

You are hereby ordered to Repair to Alexandria, your place of Rendezvous, by the time appointed in your Instructions; and if the Field Officer for that place, should not be arrived; you are there, to apply to Mr. Carlyle for Orders.

If it should happen, which I hope it will not, that you can not get your full Complement of Men by the limited time; you must then send up what you have, under the care of one of your trustiest Men, and if you conveniently can, it would be right to join them with some other Company, appointed to that Rendezvous, and remain behind 'till you have completed your number, without you receive Orders to the contrary.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG[65]

September 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, and strictly Commanded, to repair immediately, upon the Receipt of this, to Jackson's River, or the Head-Quarters of Captain Lewis's Company; and there

[62] Lieut. John Lowry.

[63] Ensign Nathaniel Milner.

[64] Ensign George Weedon.

[65] Washington inclosed these instructions in a short note, reminding Hogg that he was the senior captain, and that as the orders admit of no delay "I must again repeat, that I expect your immediate compliance; and that no excuse shall occasion the least delay."

take upon you the Command of said Company. You are therefore to be very punctual in obeying such Orders as have or may be given, by the Governour; and such as you shall receive from time to time, from me: And above all; you are to be particularly careful in using your best Endeavours, to Guard and Protect the Inhabitants and Settlers in those Parts from the Incursions of the French, and their Indians; and to conform and regulate your Conduct, in every respect, by the Strict Rules and Discipline of War.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

September 6, 1755.

Sir; The Country have come to a Resolution, to Raise Sixteen Companies, to be Formed into a Regiment; the command of which they have honoured me with;[66] and were kind enough to allow me the Liberty of appointing my Field Officers. In consequence of which I have commissioned you, Major, and must desire you will, so soon as Captain Hogg arrives, to take the command of your Company; repair to Fredericksburgh with all imaginable Dispatch, to take the command of those Recruits, that shall be brought into that appointed place of Rendezvous. I know, your Diligence and Punctuality require little or no spur; yet as this is an Affair that calls for the greatest dispatch I must earnestly recommend it to you. You must be careful in getting a proper Return of your Company, that I may order Things accordingly.

A Return must also be delivered to Captain Hogg, not only of the Men, but of the Arms, Tools, &c. and his Receipt taken. I am, &c.

[66] As soon as Colonel Washington was informed of his appointment, he repaired to Williamsburg to consult with the governor respecting future operations. When he wrote this letter he was on his return to Winchester, which place was fixed upon as his headquarters. The two other points of rendezvous for the recruits were Fredericksburg and Alexandria.—*Sparks.*

MEMORANDUM

After this, I sent to Mr. Dick; and finding him irresolute and indetermined, whether to continue to act as Commissary or no; I took an opportunity to write as followeth, in order to receive a written answer.[67]

To CHARLES DICK

September 6, 1755.

Sir: I called at your Store last night, in order to converse farther with you, concerning the Commission of Commissary; but not meeting with you there, I have taken this method of desiring to be better informed of your Sentiments; I have enclosed you a Copy of that Article of my Instructions,[68] which empowers me to appoint *another,* in case you do not act; that you may see by what authority I am governed, and as the nature of the Service, absolutely requires that something should immediately be done; I shall be under a necessity of appointing a person for that purpose, if you discontinue your Services; which If I might be allowed to advise, I would be far from recommending, before October at least; when the Committee meet,[69] and will no doubt, obviate your just objections: as they only *now* want your accompt settled, to discharge it. And as to the objection you offer, I am perswaded it will be in my power to remove; as money will be lodged in my hands for

[67] These and similar memoranda which follow were evidently transcribed by Robert Lewis in 1784–85 from Washington's revision of the original record (a continuance of the editing process begun with the so-called Braddock Expedition Letter Book. Unfortunately the originals from which this volume was transcribed have not come to light. They may have been destroyed immediately after this transcript was made.

[68] From Governor Dinwiddie.

[69] The military committee of the Virginia House of Burgesses. Washington noted: "Mr. Dick hereupon resolved, to act until a meeting of the committee in October and received the following instructions." (See Orders For Commissary Charles Dick, September 6, *post.*)

that and other purposes. If you are determined nevertheless, to throw up at all events; I must beg to know what Stores of Provisions, &c. are in your hands, and where they lie. I should also be glad to know, whether you were in earnest, when you talked of preventing their issuing 'till you was reimbursed. But this I am satisfied you could never entertain a serious thought of, if once you considered the train of ills that may attend detaining the Kings or Country's Stores; and how ill-judged a Scheme it will be to come at your Money.

I would therefore advise you to a serious consideration of these things; and should be glad to know your determination by the Bearer. For as the Recruits are appointed to Rendezvous at Fredericksburgh, Alexandria, and Winchester, there must be Provisions laid in at all those places, together with several other necessaries, that will require the immediate attention of a Commissary: For executing of which, if you incline to continue 'till you are better informed of the Terms, I shall give money and Instructions, to conduct yourself by. I am, Sir, etc.

ORDERS FOR COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK

Fredericksburgh, September 6, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to ascertain as near as possible the Country's Debts, that they maybe transmitted to the Governour.

You are to Lay in Provisions at Winchester, Fredericksburgh and Alexandria, as they arrive, and to send up a Quantity of Salt for Curing the Beef at Fort Cumberland. Also to procure Coopers to make Casks for Pickling the Beef.

You are to provide Kettles, and Barracks for the Soldiers as they arrive; likewise Fuel &c. upon as reasonable Terms as possible, and I will answer the charge.

You are to supply Major Andrew Lewis with Powder for Practicing the Recruits in their different Firings; and to deliver the enclosed Packet to him.

In case any of the Recruiting Officers should arrive in Town, before Major Lewis, you are then to open the packet, and deliver to such Officers his Orders, if his name is there, if not, he is to open the Letter that contains his Captains Orders, and to govern himself by them &c.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

September 6, 1755.

1st. So soon as you arrive in Town, you are to take upon you the Command of the Troops that are Recruited, and brought in from the different Counties by the several Officers: and after Reviewing, you are to Receive and reject such men as fall under the enclosed Instructions; which were delivered to each Recruiting Officer, to Regulate his Conduct by.

2dly. You are to be very careful in having exact Returns made every Day of each Company; by which you are to see no more Provisions are drawn for, than what is necessary.

3dly. You are to see that the Muster-Rolls of each Company and Party, are called three times a day; and that the men are as often called out and taught the New platoon way of Exercising; That you may be the better enabled to do this, I shall order a Sergeant or two from Fort Cumberland.

4thly. The Men are to Cook their own Provisions in the Barracks, provided by Mr. Commissary Dick; who you are to apply to for Kettles and other absolute Necessaries.

5thly. The Men are to be regularly practised in Shooting at Targets, in order that they may acquire a Dexterity in that kind of firing.

6thly. In all things, you are to see that good Regular Discipline is observed; in order to do which, you are to Govern yourself in every respect, by the Rules and Articles of War.

Herewith is enclosed the Orders for the several Recruiting Officers, which you may deliver as they come in.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT SPOTSWOOD

[Fredericksburg], September 6, 1755.

As soon as you arrive in Town with your Recruits, you are to put yourself under the Command of Major Andrew Lewis, or the Field Officer appointed for that Rendezvous: And you are to be strictly obedient to all such lawful Commands, as you shall from time to time receive from him: and particularly to observe, that the Muster Rolls of your Men are regularly called three times a day, and that they are as often called out to their Exercise; at which times you are to be present. If it should so happen that you arrive before the Field Officer; you are then to receive your Orders from, and make your daily Reports to, the Oldest Officer present, having regard to the above Directions.[70]

MEMORANDUM

From hence I proceeded to Alexandria.[71]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, September 11, 1755.

[Sir:] After waiting a day or two at Fredericksburgh, writing Orders for the Recruiting Officers appointed to that Rendezvous, and dispatching an Express for Major Lewis, who I have ordered Captain Hogg to relieve; I set out for this place in

[70] The same orders were sent to Captains Lewis and Harrison, Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Weedon.

[71] He seems to have arrived in Alexandria September 9.

order to examine the Clothing, Provisions, &c.; and exact Return of which I herewith send.

I also enclose your Honour a List of such Things as Major Carlyle can furnish, which are suitable, and, I think, tolerably cheap.

All the Shoes, Stockings, Shirts, and Hats may be had here, also one hundred complete Suits at Sixty shillings or less, which I think would not be amiss to engage, as no one part of the Country can, I believe, furnish the whole.

However, I have desired Major Carlyle to Receive your Honours Directions in this particular; and for making the others below, a Pattern is sent: it would be right to have them differing in Size: unless there is a proper provision made to supply the Soldiers with Clothing, after they receive their first allowance, great inconveniences will necessarily arise; particularly Shoes, Stockings and Shirts, are not laid in; for those are the most durable, and the needed.

The Method I would recommend is, for the Country, or some Person, to provide these Things, and Lodge them, or a part thereof, in Camp, in the hands of the Quarter Master, who may be appointed to Receive and deliver them to the Soldiers, by particular Orders from their Captains; taking care to produce those Orders, and proper Vouchers for the delivery, each pay-day; when it must be deducted out of that Soldiers Pay, who receives it.

This, I think, will be a means of keeping them always provided, and fit for the Duty, preventing the Officers from supplying the Men, which is generally attended with misunderstanding, and will also be a means of discouraging Followers of the Army, from demanding such exorbitant Prices, as is usually practised on such Occassions.

However, I only offer this as the most Efficacious method I can at present think of; if any other more elligible can be found, I should be glad to see it practised; as something of the kind must be done, otherwise the Soldiers will soon be Barefooted &c. which always pleads exemption from Duty; and, indeed, in the approaching Season, will render it a very just Excuse. And these things can not be got, without sending all over the Country, and scarcely then; I think it would be advisable for your Honour to send to Philadelphia for Shoes, white-yarn Stockings, Blankets, Kettles, Tomahawks, a Quantity of Cartridge Paper, Stationery, and a proper Assortment of Indian Goods, which can not be had here. There is an opportunity of getting 'em round immediately by the *Hopewell,* Captain Martin, who carries the Regimental Stores thither.

I applied to the Speaker, as your Honour directed me, for a Letter to Major Carlyle, about the Provisions; but he thought it advisable to postpone giving it until the Quantity was ascertained, to know whether it would Defray the Charges of Freighting a Vessel; which I have informed him of by this Express.

Major Carlyle is of opinion, that the West-India Markets will do better than New York, as the Returns will be in Rum; which he thinks may soon be turned into Flour at the Camp; and this will be much better than getting it from New York (if it is to be had there) as the Carriage afterwards, will almost equal the First Cost.

If all the Country Provisions are Shipped off, it will be necessary for your Honour to order the Irish Beef to be Served out to the Recruits as they arrive. I am afraid I shall not be able to push things with Spirit this Fall, for for want of a Commissary who will act with vigour; Mr. Dick seeming determined

not to enter into further Contracts, unless he is better Supported, or until he meets the Committee in October; by which time the best Season for engaging Beef, will be over. Nor had I it in my power to assist him much, as the Sum was trifling I received. I greatly fear, we shall also proceed slowly in Recruiting; it was attempted at the General Muster in this County, without success. And the Officers newly appointed, began to express their apprehensions so soon as they had their Commissions. And to Draught them will answer no end, unless they are put under better Regulations: A proof of this is very flagrant in Fredericksburgh; where they were obliged to imprison the Men, who were afterwards Rescued by their Companions.

While I am speaking of the Companies, I can not help observing, that one Subaltern is insufficient to do the Duty.

As I understand several of the Officers are gone to Williamsburgh, I must beg the Favour of your Honour to Dispatch them as quickly as possible, and order them to proceed to Fredericksburgh, and from thence to Alexandria; if they do not meet me and wait my arrival from Fort Cumberland and Winchester; where they will Receive their Recruiting Orders &c. I have taken care to order Salt up, and this Day shall set out myself. I am your Honor's &c.

Major Carlyle tells me, that there were fifty Suits of Clothing sent down to your Honour, which he supposes are now at Hampton.[72]

MEMORANDUM

After giving the necessary orders and collecting returns of provisions, clothing etc. at the place and stores at Rock Creek,[73] I continued to Winchester, where I arrived on the fourteenth.

[72] Washington wrote this same day what was practically an identical letter to Speaker John Robinson, which Ford prints.

[73] Rock Creek is a little to the north of Centerville, Fairfax County, on the direct road to Williams Gap.

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

September 15th., 1755.

If it happens that I am not in Winchester when you arrive there with your Recruits; You are hereby Ordered to put yourself &c. under the Command of the oldest Officer then present; observing particularly, all such Directions as you shall from time to time receive from him. But, if it should so fall out, that you are the first that arrive there, or if you should be the oldest Officer there; you are then to govern yourself by the enclosed Instructions.[74]

MEMORANDUM

From thence I continued to Fort Cumberland, and took upon me the Command of the Troops there; issuing the Daily Orders, and giving such Instructions and Directions, as appeared necessary.

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, September 17, 1755.

Ensign Forgie[75] for the Day.

Parole Success.[76]

George Washington Esquire, is by His Honor Governour Dinwiddie, appointed Colonel of the Virginia Regiment, and Commander in Chief of all the Forces that now are, and shall be Raised &c. &c.

[74] The instructions, with an inconsequential variation, were the same as those to Maj. Andrew Lewis of September 6.

[75] The name Forgie does not appear in any other place than this; it is not in any of the available manuscripts or printed lists of Virginia soldiers. There are numerous evidences of inadvertence on the part of Robert Lewis, the copyist of 1784–85, and this name seems to be another of them.

[76] The parole was a password for the day given to officers, while the countersign was the password for all. As no countersign was established, it is conjectured that only officers were permitted to pass the sentries; but military practice in Colonial times is not entirely clear.

Captain Adam Stephen is appointed Lieutenant Colonel; and Captain Andrew Lewis, Major of the same Regiment. Captain George Mercer, of the Virginia Forces, is Appointed Aid de Camp to Colonel Washington.

Lieutenants John Savage, John Mercer, Joshua Lewis, and Henry Woodward, are promoted as Captains in the Virginia Regiment.

Mr. Robert Spotswood, Carter Harrison, Charles Lewis, William Peachy, David Bell, and Robert McKenzie, are appointed Captains in the same Regiment.

Ensigns Thomas Bullet, Walter Stewart, John Blegg, Hancock Eustace, and George Frazier, are promoted to Lieutenants. Mr. John Edward Lomax, Peter Steenbergen, John Williams, Augustine Brokenborough, John Campbell, John Hall, John Lowry, John King, and James Baker, are appointed Lieutenants: Quarter Master, Mordecai Buckner, is appointed Ensign. Mr. John Polson, William Dangerfield, Edward Hubbard, John Dean, Nathaniel Milner, William Fleming, Leonard Price, Nathaniel Thomson, Thomas Carter, Charles Smith, Lee Hessius Dekeyzier,[77] George Gordon, and George Weeden, are appointed Ensigns.

The former Captains and Lieutenants, who are not promoted, continue in their former posts. James Livingston, Fort-Major, is appointed Adjutant to the Virginia Regiment. Every Officer of the Virginia Regiment, to provide himself as soon as he can conviently, with a Suit of Regimentals of good blue Cloath; the Coat to be faced and cuffed with Scarlet, and trimmed with Silver: A Scarlet waistcoat, with Silver Lace; blue Breeches, and a Silver-laced Hat, if to be had, for Camp or Garrison Duty.

Besides this, each Officer is to provide himself with a common Soldiers Dress, for Detachments, and Duty in the Woods.

[77] Lehaynsius De Keyser.

The Captain or Commanding Officer, of each Company, to give in an exact Return of the State of his Company; specifying the number of Arms, Tents, Kettles, and Clothing thereto Belonging. All Orders before given for the Regulation of the Fort and Camp, to be punctually obeyed.

Mr. Defever, Conductor of the Train, to give in an exact Return of the Ammunition of all Sorts, and Tools of every kind.

All the Officers of the Virginia Regiment, to attend Colonel Washington at five O'Clock this Evening; in the Room adjoining the Fort Majors'.

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, September 18, 1755.

Ensign Buckner, Officer for the Day.

Parole Diligence.

Lieutenant Bronaugh[78] is promoted as a Captain in the Virginia Regiment. All the Men of the Virginia Troops, are to be formed into two Companies, which are to be commanded by Captains Savage and Bronaugh, 'till further Orders.

Captain Savage, Lieutenant Blegg, and Ensign Smith, to take care of Captains Steven, Hogg, and Mercer's Companies; Captain Bronaugh, Lieutenant Stewart, and Ensign Polson, to take care of Captain Waggeners (late Polson, Peyrouny and Cockes Companies).

All the rest of the Officers of the Virginia Troops, to attend Colonel Washington at 12 O'Clock, to Receive their Recruiting Instructions.

AFTER ORDERS

The commanding Officers of Companies, are this Evening to Recommend such Men of their Companies, as they think fit for Sergeants and Corporals for the new Companies.

[78] William Bronaugh.

It is desired, that none of the Officers will recommend any, but such as they can vouch for their Behaviour.

To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS

Fort Cumberland, September 18, 1755.

Whereas the Service Requires a number of Men to be Raised, with all convenient Dispatch; you are hereby Ordered to Repair as soon as possible to Annapolis, and other publick Places in Maryland, and there to use your utmost Endeavours in Recruiting Men for His Majesty's Service, under my Command; taking particular care, to do nothing contrary to your Recruiting Instructions.

You are to send your Subalterns into the Back Parts of Maryland, Pennsylvania, or such other Places as you shall think most advisable, to Expedite the Recruiting Service. You are to send me an Account from time to time of your Proceedings, and of your Success, and to be punctual in obeying all such Orders as you shall Receive from me.

Lastly: I recommend it to you and your Officers, to use the utmost Diligence and all possible Dispatch.[79]

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, September 19, 1755.

Lieutenant McManners, Officer for the Day.

Parole England.

All the Men of the two Companies formed Yesterday, are to distinguish their Firelocks by some particular mark, which the Subaltern Officers of the Companies are to enter in a Book,

[79] The same instructions were given to Capt. Thomas Cocke and, with necessary modifications, to Lieuts. Hancock Eustace and William Starke and Ensign Mordecai Buckner.

which they are to keep for that purpose. And if any man changes or loses his Firelock, or other Arms, he is to be confined and severely punished. The Arms of all Deserters or Dead Men, are immediately to be delivered to the Commissary, who is to pass his Receipt for them to the Commanding Officer of the Company.

Any Soldier who is guilty of any breach of the Articles of War, by Swearing, getting Drunk, or using an Obscene Language; shall be severely Punished, without the Benefit of a Court Martial.

A Court Martial to sit immediately, for Trial of all the Prisoners in the Guard.

Members. { Captain Savage, President.
Lieutenant Roe, Lieutenant Steuart;
Lieutenant Linn, Lieutenant Blegg.[80]

The Officers of the two Companies formed yesterday are to have their Rolls called over thrice every Day; which the Officers are to attend and see Done by turns, beginning with the Captain: and if any Soldier is absent without Leave, he is to be confined immediately, and tried by a Court Martial, or punished at the Discretion of the Commanding Officer.

AFTER ORDERS

As Complaint has been made to me, that John Stewart, Soldier in Captain Bronaughs Company, keeps a Disorderly and riotous Assembly, constantly about him:

I do Order, that, for the future, he shall not presume to Sell any Liquor to any Soldier or any other Person whatsoever, under pain of the severest punishment.

[80] Capt. John Savage, Lieut. John Roe, Lieut. John Lemon (Linnon, Linn), of the rangers, Lieut. Walter Steuart, and Lieut. John Blagg (Blegg).

To CAPTAIN ANDREW MONTOUR

Fort Cumberland, September 19, 1755.

Sir: The number of the Virginia Forces is considerably augmented, and I have again taken them under my Command.

I am therefore very desirous of seeing you here; and the more so, because I have it in my power to do something for you in a Settled way, which I hope will be agreeable to you. You have, much contrary to my inclinations, been tossed about from place to place, and disappointed in your just Expectations: which Inconveniences I will Remedy, as much as lies in my power.

I desire you will bring some Indians along with you, which will put it more in my power to Serve you. They shall be better used than they have been, and have all the kindness from us they can desire.

If you think it proper to bring Mrs. Montour along with you, she shall Receive the best Usage, and be provided for. I am, &c.

*To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK[81]

Fort Cumberland, September 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to give in an exact Return of all the Cloathing of every kind; Arms of all Sorts; Ammunition, Provisions, Tents, Pack-Saddles, &c. &c. that are at Winchester; and to be very particular in Distinguishing the Quantity, and Quality of each Sort.

I must also desire you will provide Barracks, Provisions and other absolute necessarys, for the Recruits, as they arrive at that place of Rendezvous and If you find any Difficulty in getting Provisions in the Neighbourhood of Winchester, you must

[81] Original is in the archives of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. Dick was commissary general of the Virginia forces.

send to Conogogee: to enable you to do this, I have furnished you with £20.

I have left a Letter, and Orders for Captain Bell,[82] or his Subalterns; which I desire you will Deliver, or cause to be delivered, as soon as they come to their Rendezvous; which will be the first of October. As the Letter contains the Officer's Instructions, the first that arrives, is ordered to open it. [H.S.P.]

INSTRUCTIONS TO LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Fort Cumberland, September 20, 1755.

1st. To complete the Stockade round the Magazine, as soon as possible; and to have that House which contains the empty Casks, covered with Dirt, and the Ammunition removed into it.

2ly. To have the Barracks well cleaned and Sweetened, as soon as the Hospital is Removed, and the Troops moved into them.

3ly. To have Wood on the other side of the Run cut down, and Burnt, or Corded up for Firing.

4ly. To Secure all the publick Horses that may be brought in by the Country People; and to use all possible Diligence, in getting those that are carried off by others.

5ly. To send out a Party after the Horses John Nickols informs of, also after Some that were Sold to John Nealand, without Leave; and to employ Hands to look after the whole, until I return.

6ly. To See that both Officers and Soldiers, are Regularly and constantly, Exercised twice a Day; and that the Adjutant is very Diligent in his Duty.

[82] Capt. David Bell.

7ly. To be particularly kind &c. to Captain Montour, and to Treat the Indians, if any arrive with him, in the most familiar manner.

8ly. To Leave Instructions with Captain Savage, to observe the same Directions, when you come to Willaimsburgh.

9ly. When the Coopers arrive, to see they are constantly employed; and they are to make their Casks so small, that a Horse may carry two of them.

If they do not arrive soon, you are to send an Express for them.

10y. To see that the Gun-Smith is as Expeditious as possible, in Repairing the Arms: and to order the Carpenters to make Ram-rods for them.

11y. To send three Sergeants to each place of Rendezvous; as soon as they shall be thought capable of teaching the Recruits; and to deliver each of them one of the Country's Horses, if it is thought advisable; as they are to be answerable for them.

MEMORANDUM

From thence I proceeded to Fort Dinwiddie,[83] on Jackson's River; where I found it necessary to give the following Directions.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Fort Dinwiddie, September 24, 1755.

You are Hereby Ordered, to add Bastions to, and Build Barracks in the Fort, immediately: and to fall all the Wood within Musket-Shot, that you may be Guarded against Surprizes.

[83] About 5 miles west of Warm Springs, Augusta County. The fort was one of the chain of frontier posts erected as a line of defense against the Indians.

You are to provide Coopers, and have Casks to put your Provisions in, and See that Some of them are made of such convenient Sizes, that they may be easily transported on horseback.

You are to Engage Grain enough to Serve your Company twelve Months; and to Draw upon your Commissary for money to pay for it. Beef you may also engage to be delivered at your Fort, upon the most Reasonable Terms you can, and draw as above, for the money.

You are to see that the Muster-Rolls of the Company are regularly called three times a day; at which times an Officer is to be present: and that they are duly Exercised, when the Service will admit of it.

You are to transmit me weekly Returns of your Company, to be Signed by yourself and Officers; and a Return the first Day of every Month, reporting the variations that may have happened.

And when any of the non-commissioned Officers or Soldiers, should happen to Die, they are to be continued on the Rolls as Effective men, twenty-eight Days, to pay for their Coffins, &c. You are not to Supply the Men with any necessaries, deducting the same from their pay; you are only to be careful in Seeing they lay out their pay, or part thereof, for such Necessaries as they stand in need of. You are to use your utmost Endeavours in protecting the Inhabitants of Green-Briar, Jackson's River, and those within, from the Incursions of the French and Indians. In order to do which, you are frequently to send out strong Parties to Scour the Woods and Mountains, in those parts.

Lastly. You are to be very particular in Seeing that good Discipline and Order are observed in your Garrison, &c.

and you are to Govern yourself, in every Respect, by the Rules, and Articles of War.

MEMORANDUM

After Examining into the State of Affairs here, and giving such Directions as seemed convenient; I set out on my Return to Alexandria, where I arrived the second of October; and gave the following Instructions, &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Alexandria, October 3, 1755.

As the Service at present will not allow of Colonel Stephen, as was first intended; you are hereby ordered, to follow, the within Instructions, which were designed for him.[84]

If your Leisure will admit, while you Command here, you are to frequent the publick places hereabout, and endeavour to Enlist what Men you can for the Service.

As all the Officers Instructions direct them to apply to Colonel Stephen for Orders; it will be necessary to shew these Orders, as they arrive, that they may not hesitate to obey.

To FRANCIS TRIPLETT, CADET

Alexandria, October 3, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to Repair to all the publick Places, where you have the greatest probability of Success; and are to use your utmost Endeavours, to Enlist Men for His Majesty's Service under my Command: and you are to observe such farther Directions as are contained in the General Instructions herewith given you: And are by no means to exceed the time appointed for your Rendezvous here.

[84] Waggener had been overlong in arriving at Alexandria, and Capt. George Mercer, aide to Washington, wrote him a sharp letter (October 2) by Washington's direction.

To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

October 3, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to give out of the Stores left under your care by the English Troops, Beds, Blankets, &c. to the Officer appointed to take care of the Recruits; taking his Receipt for the same, for the number Delivered.

You are also Ordered, to deliver the allowance of Flour out of the Virginia Stores, and Beef from the Irish Beef left in your care, by Robert Leake Esquire.

Any Expences that may arise for Cooking, House-Rent, &c. that are Reasonable, you may pay, and it shall be repaid you again.

MEMORANDUM

Arrived at Fredericksburgh, in my way to Willaimsburgh.

ORDERS

October 5, 1755.

As Captain George Mercer of the Virginia Forces, has been appointed Aide de Camp to Colonel Washington, and declared in Publick Orders at Fort Cumberland. To prevent any Disputes or delays of Orders, which may be issued by him. It is also thought proper to acquaint all Officers, &c. at this place, with the said appointment; and that all Orders which come from him are to be as punctually obeyed, as those which may come from the Commander in Chief.

Every Officer of the Virginia Regiment is, as soon as possible, to provide himself with an uniform Dress, which is to be of fine Broad Cloath: The Coat Blue, faced and cuffed with Scarlet, and Trimmed with Silver: The Waistcoat Scarlet, with a plain Silver Lace, (if to be had), the Breeches to be Blue; and every one to provide himself with a Silver-laced Hat, of a Fashionable size.

A Detachment of one Lieutenant, one Ensign, three Sergeants, three Corporals, a Drummer, and Fifty private men, under the Command of Captain Woodward, are to March on Monday next, for Fort Cumberland, and to proceed according to the following March Route: Viz.

Monday, October the 13th. To William Pickets
14th. To Martin Hardens
15th. To Joseph Nevils
16th. To Halt
17th. To Watts's
18th. To the River
19th. To Winchester
20–21 To Halt
22 To Jesse Pugh's
23 To Henry Enochs
24 To Friend Cox's
25 To Plumers, at Cresaps
26 To Fort Cumberland

Lieutenant Lomax and Ensign Hubbard, are Subalterns appointed for this Detachment, being the eldest at present fit for Duty. All the Officers, except such as Major Lewis shall think fit to stay in Town, to take care of the Recruits, are to disperse themselves to different parts, and have a farther time, 'till the 20th. of October, allowed them for Recruiting; on which Day, they are to Repair to their place of Rendezvous, without Failure, with what Recruits they can Raise.

To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD

[Fredericksburg], October 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to proceed with the Detachment under your Command to Fort Cumberland, according to the Route prescribed in the General Orders: You are to provide yourself at this place, with Sufficient Ammunition for your

Detachment, as there is none at Winchester. When you arrive at Winchester, you are to procure a Waggon to assist you to Fort Cumberland.

You are to apply to the Commanding Officer at Winchester, for Arms for your Detachment: also for Sufficient Provisions to serve them to Fort Cumberland. When you arrive at the Fort, you are to see that the men are Exercised daily; and are to receive your Orders from the Commanding Officer there.

You are to observe Good Order.

ORDERS TO ORDINARY KEEPERS,[85] ON CAPTAIN WOODWARD'S ROUTE TO FORT CUMBERLAND

Friday, October 6, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered and strictly Required, to make proper provisions of meat, Bread, &c. for Sixty Men one day: they will be at your House on the Day of October, on their March to Fort Cumberland: and I will see you paid a reasonable Allowance.

From hence I set out on the 7th to Williamsburg; and from Todds Ordinary . . . continued my journey to Colonel Baylors, when I was over taken by an Express sent from Colonel Stephen, informing, that a Body of Indians had fallen on the Inhabitants, killed many of them, destroyed and Burnt several of their Houses.

MEMORANDUM

I hereupon wrote to the Governor, and returned immediately to Fredericksburgh; and wrote a second Letter to the Governour, one to the Speaker, &c.

[85] These were William Picket, Martin Harden, Joseph Nevil, and Watts; Watts was at Goose Creek Ford, now Delaplane, Fairfax County.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE[86]

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

Sir: I arrived at this place, in less than three hour's after I wrote you from Colo. Baylor's,[87] and some small time after the arrival of Colo. Stephen who brings a worse acct, than he related in his Letter; but as he is the bearer I shall be less prolix referring to him for particular's.

I shall set out this Evening for Winchester where I expect to be join'd by the Recruits from Alexandria and this place (as soon as they can possibly march that distance) also by one hund'd men from Prince Willm. and Frederick, and I have wrote to Fairfax coty. desiring that a Troop of Horse may hold themselves in readiness to March at an hour's warning, so that I doubt not but with the assistance of these I shall be able to repulse the Enemy if they are still committing their outrages on the Inhabitants.

We are at a loss for want of almost every necessary. Tents, Kettles, Arms, Ammunition, Cartridge-Paper, &c, &c, we are distress'd for, therefore I hope as your Honour did not send to Philadelphia for them, you will if possible endeavour to get them below, and send them by the first opportunity to this place or Alexandria with order's that they may be forwarded immediately to Winchester.

I must again take the liberty of mentioning to your honour, the necessity there is of putting the Militia, (when they are drawn out into actual Service) under better regulations than they are at present; as well as there is of putting us under a

[86] Original in the J. P. Morgan Library.

[87] Col. John Baylor. His son George was an aide-de-camp to Washington in the Revolutionary War.

Military Law,[88] otherwise we shall only be a burthensome charge to the Country, and the others will prove its ruin. That this may not appear an unmeaning expression I shall refer your Honour, to Lit-Colo. Stephen who can give you some late proofs of their disobedience, and inconsistent behaviour.

I find I cannot possibly be in Williamsburg, (as these affairs will engage me some time) till abt the 6th. 7th. or 8th. of Novr. when I shoud be glad to meet a committee in order to settle with your Honour and them some points that are very necessary for the good of the Expedn.

Colo. Stephen has orders to receive (if he can) some money below that we may be enabled to pay the Troops and to keep up their spirits, and to answer such immediate charges as cannot be dispensed with til I come down; and I shoud be glad if your honour woud order him to repair therewith (so soon as his business is done with the Committee) to Winchester and from thence with a proper Guard to Fort Cumberland. I hope the Treasury will have a sufficient sum of money prepared against I come down, that I meet with no great Delay.

I should be glad your honour woud give Colo. Stephen all the assistance you can in gettg. the money, forwarding this to me that I may be the sooner down. There are abt 70 Recruits at this place, and I left 25 at Belhaven which I suppose are augmented before this by Officer's who I am sorry to say have paid slight regard to Orders, in not being to their places of Rendezvous according to appointment which was the first Instant, the most flagrant proof of this appears Capt. Harrison[89] who I have heard nothing of since he rec'd his Instructions. I am, &c.

[M.L.]

[88] Of this the governor was convinced, for immediately after the defeat of Braddock he wrote to his superiors of his intention to press a military law, without which little dependence could be placed in the militia. In the August session a new regulation of militia was passed. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, p. 530.)

[89] Capt. Henry Harrison.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

[Sir:] Being much hurried, I shall refer you to Colonel Stephen for Particulars, who brings a melancholy account of Back-Settlers. He waits on you for some money to pay the Recruits, and answer such immediate Charges as may arise before I can see you in Williamsburgh; which can not be now, until about the 8th. or 9th. of November: at which time I should be glad to see you there, and to Receive such a Sum, as you think proper to Lodge in my Hands.

I only wait here to issue Orders for the Recruits; and then shall Repair to Winchester with all imaginable Dispatch, and full hopes, of having it in my power to Repel those Barbarous and insolent Invaders, of our Country. I am &c.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

October 8, 1755.

You are to March all the Recruits, now Rendezvousing in Fredericksburgh, under the conduct of the following Officers, Viz:

Captain Henry Woodward, Captain Charles Lewis; Lieutenants John Edward Lomax, and Peter Steenbergen; Ensigns Hubbard and George Weedon, to Winchester immediately; using the utmost. Dispatch in your March. You are to leave Orders with Captain Spotswood, to Recruit hereabouts, and to Receive the Recruits which may be sent to Rendezvous here; and that whenever he can collect about twenty men, he is to send a Subaltern or a trusty Sergeant, with them to Winchester.

You are to collect all the Ammunition that can be had here, or what you think a sufficient quantity, and take it up to Winchester with you.

As you will have Officers, more than sufficient for the command with you: You are to send one off every Morning to engage Provisions for the Men where you intend to Quarter that night, or to use other methods in that respect, as you may think most Expedient.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

October 8, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed to Alexandria, with all possible Dispatch, and to take all the men there under your Command; which, with what Officers you shall think necessary for the number, you are to March immediately to Winchester, when you will receive further Orders.

You are to provide them at Alexandria with Arms, as far as they will go, Ammunition, &c.; if there is any Ammunition there to spare, you are to take it up to Winchester with you, and Lodge it in the Commissary's Store there.

If you think that Provision can not be got on the Road for your Command; you must take it from the Stores at Alexandria. I would have you to use Pack-Horses or Waggons, whichever you shall judge best, for forwarding your March.

You are also to provide your Men with Haversacks.

To COLONEL HENRY LEE

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

[Sir:] As I understand Lord Fairfax has had great reason to order one hundred of the Militia of your County[90] to march, to assist in the protection of our Frontiers; I must desire, that you will see that they come on Horse-back, as they will thereby be enabled to make Dispatch and to carry Provisions with

[90] Prince William County.

them, which must be done, as the scarcity of Bread between this and Fort Cumberland, renders it absolutely necessary. I must earnestly recommend dispatch to you, as you must be truly sensible, that the present situation of Affairs, will not admit of the least delay.

I shall be at Winchester to-morrow, and shall expect to see your Detachment there the next Day or the day after, at the farthest. I am Yours,

To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

From the concurring Accounts from Will's-Creek, we have reason to believe, that a greater number of men is wanting than what we are able to Muster at present: it would therefore be advisable to Order a Troop of Horse of your County, to hold themselves in Readiness to March at an hour's warning, in case they should receive such Orders from Lord Fairfax, with whom I expect to be, as soon as the distance &c. can possibly admit. It would be advisable, if they do come, to bring eight or ten Days provision with them. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Fredericksburg, October 8, 1755.

After appointing what Officers you think most proper to your Command; I would have you leave some Officers whom you think most capable, to Recruit about Alexandria; and to Receive the Recruits which shall be sent to that Rendezvous; with Orders, that as soon as he shall collect a Party of about twenty men, he is to send them off to Winchester, with a Subaltern or a Trusty Sergeant. If there should be any more Officers than you think necessary for your Command, and the

Recruits which shall be left in Alexandria; you are to send them to Recruit, with orders to Rendezvous at Alexandria, precisely on the 20th.

If Powder and Lead can not be had in Alexandria, you are to apply to Mr. George Mason, who will Supply you with what you think proper. I am &c.

MEMORANDUM

At this place I pressed Horses, and Rode immediately to Lord Fairfax's and Winchester; and finding every thing in the utmost confusion, and no certain accounts of the Enemy; I hired two Scouts to go to the Branch,[91] and Endeavour to procure Intelligence: by them I wrote as followeth.

To CAPTAINS WILLIAM COCKE AND JOHN ASHBY[92]

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

I received an Express as I was going to Williamsburgh, informing me of the Ravages committed by the Indians on the Back Inhabitants: upon which I rode post to this place, after ordering the Recruits from Fredericksburgh, Alexandria, &c. to Repair here, where I expect them every moment. So that I doubt not you will be encouraged by this to make a Stand, in case you are Attacked or Besieged; as I hope very quickly to Relieve you, and make the Savages and French (who are no better) pay for their Presumption.

I have hired the Bearer to go to you in order to receive a particular account of your Situation, wants, &c. and I must desire you will be very explicit in reciting the Number, and Design of the Enemy.

[91] The South Branch of the Potomac River.
[92] Of the ranger companies.

If their numbers are not large, from many concurring accounts, you ought to send out Parties to stop their progress, which the Timidity of the Inhabitants has been the cause of.

If it should so happen, that you are obliged to quit your Fort for want of Provisions, &c.

You are hereby positively Ordered, to Retreat no farther than Joseph Edwards on Cacapehon: where you will be joined by other Parties as fast as they can be collected. I shall only add, that I wish you Success, and expect to hear you have; and will Behave consistently with your Character, as Relief is so near at hand. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM VANCE, OF THE MILITIA

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Hearing that you had quit the Branch, which will not only Discourage those left Behind, but also terrify the Lower Inhabitants, and occasion all of them to abandon their Plantations.

I do hereby Strictly Order and Require of you, to Halt at Joseph Edwards's on Cacapehon, until further Orders; unless you should be drove from thence by Superior Force. You will be quickly joined there by Numbers sufficient to prevent those insolent Invaders from committing such inhuman Outrages; and I hope to Retaliate their Crimes.

It would be right to acquaint the Inhabitants, as I doubt not but you may see many of them Retreating, how necessary, and how much it is their Duty and Interest, to Lodge their Families in some safe place, and join our Party in Dislodging the Enemy from their Lurking places. They will be under no disagreeable Command, nor will they be confined an hour

longer than this particular Service Requires; should that be only one week. This you may acquaint them with from me. I am &c.

IMPRESS WARRANT

October 10, 1755.

By Virtue of the Power and authority to me given, as Commander in Chief of all the Forces now Raised &c.

I do hereby Impower you, Powell Hazel, to impress any Horse or Horses, for His Majesty's Service, for the better transporting yourself to and from the Fort, wherein William Vance and Company are.

ORDERS FOR THE RECRUITS OF THE TWO COMPANIES OF RANGERS

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

One Corporal and Seven Men to Mount a Guard, which is to be Relieved at Sun-set to-morrow.

A Centry is to be placed over the Magazine and Gun powder.

Lieutenants Linnon and Rutherford, are to take it by turns, to examine the State of the Recruits, and see that they commit no Irregularities.

An Orderly Man is to attend Colonel Washington to morrow; and while he stays, is to be Relieved every two hours, regularly.

As the Sheriff can not attend to-morrow, the Orderly Officer is to look after or any other Waggons which shall come to Town; and is to Report them immediately to Colonel Washington.

Lieutenant Linnon for the Day.

To COLONEL THOMAS BRYAN MARTIN

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Dear Sir: Captain Harden arrived in about half an hour after you went away, and informs me, he has about Seventeen Men coming to Town.

This I thought proper to acquaint you of, that you may advise with his Lordship, whether with these Rangers in Town, the Twenty odd you spoke of, and those Captain Smith thinks he is sure of getting, it would not be necessary to attempt Something. I have sent off these two Men you saw for Intelligence, but have little hope of any Satisfactory account from *one* of them, who seems much addicted to Drinking. If you think these Men and Officers may be depended upon; I do not know but it would be advisable, to send them up: it will at least be a Strong Reconnoitering Party.[93] Pray make my Compliments to His Lordship, and believe me to be, Yours &c.

INSTRUCTIONS TO COMMISSARY JONES

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

You are to proceed to Conogogee immediately; where I expect you will meet with the Waggons you yesterday engaged, by the return of Mr. Defever, Conductor of the Train.

There should be at Conogogee Thirty Boxes of Musket Ball; these you are to bring with you. If there is any Powder in Store, you are also to bring it, and a Cask of Flints. You are to Load the Remainder of the Waggons which you have, or may engage on your way thither, with Flour; which is to be brought to this place, for the use of the Troops which Rendezvous here.

[93] The situation in Winchester was depressing. In addition to the uneasiness, there was no ammunition and an urgent call was sent out for a supply; horses could neither be hired nor impressed, and the troops were half naked from lack of clothing.

I must particularly, on this occasion, recommend Diligence and Dispatch to you.

To ANDREW MONTOUR

[Winchester, October 10, 1755.]

Dear Montour: I wrote you a Letter of Invitation sometime ago desiring yourself, your Family, and Friendly Indians, to come and reside among us; but that Letter not coming to Hand, I am induced to send another Express with the Same Invitation: being pleased that I have it in my power to do something for you, on a better Footing than it ever ever has been done. I was greatly enraptur'd when I heard you was at the head of three hundred Indians on a March toward Venango; being satisfied that your hearty attachment to our Glorious Cause; your Courage, of which I have had sufficient proofs, and your presence among the Indians, would animate their just Indignation to do something Noble, something worthy themselves, and honourable to you.[94] I hope you will use your Interest (as I know you have much) in bringing our Brothers once more among us.

Assure them, as you truly may, that nothing which I can do, shall be wanting. Assure them also, that as I have the chief Command, I am invested with power to Treat them as Brethren and Allies; which I am sorry to say, has not been of late.

Recommend me kindly to our good Friend Monocatoothe, and others; tell them how happy it would make Conotocaurious to have an opportunity of shaking them by the Hand at Fort Cumberland; and how glad he would be to treat them as Brothers of our Great King, beyond the Waters!

[94] The *Dinwiddie Papers* (vol 2, p 243) dates this October 11, and the copy by Kirkpatrick in those papers is so indorsed. The Washington "Letter Book," from which this text is taken, gives October 10.

Flattering myself that you will come, and I doubting not but you will bring as many of them with you as possible, as that will afford me what alone I want, that is, an opportunity of doing something equal to your Wishes.

I am, etc.

N. B. I doubt not but you have heard of the Ravages committed on our Frontiers by the French Indians, and I suppose French themselves: I am now on my March against them; and hope to give them cause of Repenting their Rashness. [V.H.S.]

To CHRISTOPHER GIST

Winchester, October 10, 1755.

Before I got to Williamsburgh, the Commissions were chiefly disposed of; yet having you strongly in my mind (which occasioned an earnest solicitation) I succeeded in procuring the only Commission that was vacant, i. e. to be Captain of a Company of Scouts. This is attended with equal Honour, Rank and Profit, with the other Captains; but will be accompanied with more Fatigue; which you will not regard, as you are greatly inured to it. It is intended, that your Company shall consist as much of active woodsmen, capable of something adequate to your names; I must therefore desire you will Repair immediately thither, in order to receive Money and Instructions to Recruit them; and you may be assured, that I shall Endeavor to provide for your Son in the same Company.

I doubt not but you have heard of the Ravages committed by our inhuman Foes, on the back inhabitants; I am now upon my March against them, with full hopes, that I shall be able to get Satisfaction for their cruel Barbarities.

Never were Indians more wanted than at this time; I have therefore sent to Montour, inviting him, and all he can bring, and should be glad that you would come that way, and use all your interest (as I know you have much with him) to engage his coming; I will promise if he brings many, to do something handsome for him. You had better be silent on this head, though; least where you are measures may be taken by the Pennsylvanians, to prevent him from bringing any Indians. I am, &c.

To THE OFFICER APPOINTED TO RECEIVE THE RECRUITS AT ALEXANDRIA

October 10, 1755.

As the situation of our Affairs here may detain me longer than I expected, which will prevent me from coming through Alexandria, in my way to Williamsburgh.

You are hereby strictly ordered to send (in case I am not at your Rendezvous by the first of November, at night,) and Express to Fredericksburgh, informing me what Officers there are in town, what number of Recruits, what Parties you have sent off, and when; together with a particular account of every occurrence that has happened since your appointment there. You are not to fail in sending off parties of twenty or twenty five men as fast as they are formed, under the care of a Subaltern or trusty Sergeant. I am &c.

N. B. Twenty or twenty-five men are rather too many for a Sergeants Command; therefore it would better to appoint an Officer to that Command, who is to get Arms at Alexandria, if any arrive there from Williamsburgh; but if this should not

be the case, I shall endeavour to Lodge Arms at Winchester for them.

ORDERS TO CAPTAIN JOHN HARDEN, COMMANDING THE MILITIA; AND LIEUTENANT JOHN LEMON, COMMANDING THE RANGERS, AT WINCHESTER

October 11, 1755.

As I have been informed that there are Indians lurking about the Plantation of Stephen Julian, it is my Orders, that you, with the Men under your Command, proceed there very early to-morrow morning, and Scour all the woods and suspicious places thereabouts, before you proceed to Meet Captain Smith,[95] and make a Report to me of what you shall observe.[96]

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, October 11, 1755.

Honble. Sir: As I think it my indispensable duty to inform you particularly of my proceedings, and to give the most plain and authentic Acct. from time to time, of our situation, I must acquaint your Honour that, immediately after giving the necessary Orders at Fredericksburg, and despatching Expresses to hurry the Recruits from Alexandria, I rid post to this place, passing by Lord Fairfax's who was not at home, but here, where I arrived Yesterday about noon, and found every thing in the greatest hurry and confusion, by the back Inhabitants flocking in, and those of the Town removing out, which I have, prevented as far as it was in my power. I was desirous of

[95] Capt. Daniel [?] Smith.

[96] These orders were countermanded October 12 and the troops ordered to await further orders. Lieutenant Lemon was ordered, October 13, to march the ranger recruits to the South Branch of the Potomac, there to join their respective companies.

proceeding immediately, at the head of some Militia, to put a stop to the Ravages of the Enemy; believing their Numbers to be few; but was told by Colo. Martin,[97] who had attempted to raise the Militia for the same purpose, that it was impossible to get above 20 or 25 Men; they having absolutely refused to stir; choosing as they say to die, with their Wives and Familys. Finding this expedient was likely to prove abortive, I sent off expresses to hurry on the Recruits from below, and the Militia from Fairfax, Prince William, &c., which Lord Fairfax had ordered; and also hired Spies to go out and see to discover the Numbers of the Enemy, and to encourage the Rangers who we were told, were blocked up by the Indians in small Fortresses. But if I may offer my opinion, I believe, they are more encompassed by Fear than by the Enemy: I have also impressed Waggons and sent them to Conogogee for Flour, Musket Shott, and Flints; Powder, and a trifling quantity of Paper, bought at extravgant prices for Cartridges, I expect from below. Six or eight Smiths who are now at Work, repairing the fire Arms that are here, which are all that we have to depend on. A man was hired the 24th of last Month, to do the whole, but neglected and was just moving off in Wagons to Pensylvania. I pressed his Waggons and compelled him by Force, to assist in this Work. In all things I meet with the greatest opposition. No Orders are obey'd, but what a Party of Soldiers, or my own drawn Sword, Enforces; without this, a single Horse, for the most, urgent occasion cannot be had: to such a pitch has the insolence of these People arrived, by having every point hitherto submitted to them; however, I have given up none, where his Majesty's Service requires the Contrary, and where my proceedings are justified by my Instructions; nor will I, unless they execute what they threaten, i. e. "to blow out my Brains."

[97] Col. Thomas Bryan Martin.

I have invited the poor distressed People, who were drove from their Habitations, to lodge their Familys in some place of security, and to join our Party's in Scouring the Woods where the Enemy lie; and believe some will cheerfully assist. I also have and shall continue to take every previous Step to forward the March of the Recruits, &c, so soon as they arrive here: and your Honour may depend that nothing that is in my power to do, shall be wanting for the good of the Service. I wou'd again hint the necessity of putting the Militia under a better Regulation; had I not mention'd it twice before, and a third time may seem Impertinent; but I must once more beg leave to declare, (for here I am more immediately concern'd), that unless the Assembly will Enact a Law, to enforce the Military Law in all its Parts,[98] that I must, with great regret, decline the Honour that has been so generously intended me; and for this only Reason I do it,—the foreknowledge I have of failing in every point that might justly be expected, from a person invested with full power to exert his Authority. I see the growing Insolence of the Soldiers, the Indolence and Inactivity of the Officers; who are all sensible how confined their punishments are, in regard to what they ought to be. In fine, I can plainly see, that under our present Establishment, we shall become a Nusance, an insupportable charge to our Country, and never answer any one expectation of the Assembly. And here, I must assume the Freedom to express some surprize, that we alone, should be so tenacious of our Liberty, as not to invest a power, where Interest and Politicks so unanswerably demand it; and from whence so much good must consequently ensue; do we not see that every Nation under the Sun find their acct. therein; and without, it no

[98] A mutiny bill was framed by the legislature in the October session. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 5, p. 559).

Order no regularity can be observed? Why then shou'd it be expected from us, (who are all young and inexperienced,) to govern, and keep up a proper spirit of Discipline with't Laws; when the best, and most Experienced, can scarcely do it with. Then if we consult our Interest, I am sure it is loudly called for. For I can confidently assert, that Recruiting, Cloathing, Arming, Maintaining, and Subsisting Soldiers, who have deserted; has cost the Country an immense Sum, which might have been prevented, were we under Restraints, that would terrify the Soldiers from such practices. One thing more on this head I will recommend, and then quit the Subject; *i. e.,* to have the Inhabitants liable to certain heavy Fines or Corporal Punishments, for Entertaining of Deserters, and a Reward for taking them up. If this was done, it would be next to an impossibility for a Soldier to Escape; but, on the contrary, as things now stand, they are not only Seduced to run away, but are also harbour'd, and assisted with every necessary means to make their escape.

Sunday noon.—Last night at 8 o'clock, arriv'd an express, just spent with fatigue and fear, reporting that a party of Indians were seen at the Plantation of one Isaac Julian ab't 12 Miles off and that the Inhabitants were flying in the most promiscuous manner from their dwellings. I immediately ordered the Town Guards to be strengthened; Perkins's Lieut. to be in readiness with his Company, some Recruits (who had only arrived ab't half an hour before) to be armed; and sent two men, well acquainted with the Woods, to go up that Road, and lay wait to see if they could discover the Numbers and Motion of the Indians, that we might have timely notice of their approach. This Morning, before we could parade the Men, to March upon the last Alarm, arrived a Second Express, ten times more terrified than the former, with information that the Indians had got within four Miles of the Town, and

were killing and destroying all before them; for that he himself had heard constant Firing, and the Shrieks of the unhappy Murder'd! Upon this, I immediately collected what Force I could, which consisted of 22 Men, recruited for the Rangers, and 19 of the Militia, and Marched therewith directly to the place where these horrid Murders were said to be committed. When we came there, whom shou'd we find occasioning all this disturbance, but 3 drunken Soldiers of the Light-Horse, carousing, firing their Pistols, and uttering the most unheard-of Imprecations; these we took, and Marched Prisoners to Town, where we met the Men I sent out last Night, and learned that the party of Indians, discovered by Isaac Julian, proved to be a Mulatto and Negro, seen hunting of Cattle by his Son, who alarmed the Father, and the Father the Neighbourhood. These Circumstances are related only to shew what a panick prevails among the People; how much they are alarmed at the most usual and customary Crys; and yet how impossible it is to get them to act in any respect for their common Safety's; an Instance of this then appeared Colo. Fairfax, who arrived in Town while we were upon the Scout, immediately sent to a Noble Captain (not far off) to repair with his Company forthwith to Winchester; with coolness and moderation this great Captain answered, that his Wife, Family and Corn was at stake; so were those of his Soldiers; therefore it was not possible for him to come, Such is the Example of the Officers! such the Behaviour of the Men; and such the unhappy Circumstances on which our Country depends!

Monday morning.—The Men I hired to bring Intelligence from the Branch, returned last Night with Letters from Captain Ashby,[99] and the other Parties up there, by which we learn,

[99] Capt. John Ashby, of the family from whom Ashbys Gap in the Blue Ridge is named.

that the Indians are gone off. Scouts having been dispersed upon those Waters for several days, without discovering tracts or other Signs of the Enemy.

I am also informed, that it is believed, their Numbers amounted to 150; that 70 or near it of our People are kill'd and missing; and that several Houses and Plantations are destroy'd; but not so great havock made as was at first represented. The Rangers and a small company of Militia, ordered there by Lord Fairfax, I am given to understand, intend to March down on Wednesday next, who will be immediately followed by all the Inhabitants of those parts, that had gathered together under their protection: I have therefore sent Peremptory Orders to the Contrary; but what obedience will be paid to it a little time will reveal. I have ordered those Men that were Recruited for the Rangers, to join their Respective Companies; and there is also a party of 20 Militia marched with them, under the Command of Captain Hardin. Captain Waggener is this Instant arrived with 30 Recruits, which he marched from Alexandria in less than three days,—a great March indeed! Major Lewis and his Recruits from Fredericksburg, is expected in To-morrow, when with these, and 22 Men of Captain Bell's now here, I shall proceed by quick Marches to Fort Cumberland, in order to strengthen the Garrison there. Besides these, I think it absolutely necessary, that there should be two or three Companies (exclusive of Rangers) to Guard the Potomack Waters, till such times as our Regiment is compleated: and indeed these Rangers and Volunteer Companies in Augusta, with some of their Militia, should be properly disposed of on these Frontiers, for fear of an Attack from that Quarter. This, thot. is submitted to your Honour's Judgment; and waits your Orders for execution, if it shou'd be thought expedient. Captain Waggener inform'd me, that it was with difficulty he

pass'd the Ridge for the Crowds of People, who were flying as if every moment was death. He endeavoured, but in vain to stop them; they firmly believing that Winchester was in Flames. I have sent expresses down the several Roads in hopes of bringing back the Inhabitants, who are really frightened out of their Senses. I despatched an express immediately upon my arrival to this place, with a Copy of the Inclosed to Andr'w. Montour, who I heard was at a place called long Island,[1] with 300 Indians, to see if I cou'd engage him and them to join us. The letter savours a little of Flattery, &c, &c, but this, I hope, is justifiable on such occasions. I also wrote to Gist, acquainting him with the Favour your Honour intended him; and desired he would repair home, in order to raise his Companies of Scouts.[2]

I shall defer writing to the Speaker and Committee upon any other head than that of Commissary; still hoping to be down by the time I mentioned in my last (provided no new disturbances happens) having some points to Settle, that I am uneasy and urgent abt. I have been obliged to do dutys quite foreign from my own, but that I shall never hesitate abt, when others do; and the good of the Service requires the contrary.

In a journey from Fort Cumberland to Fort Dinwiddie, which I made purposely to see the Situation of our Frontiers, how the Rangers were Posted, and how Troops might be

[1] Also spoken of as Great Island; in the Holston River. Montour was there with Monacatoocha to meet the Delawares.

[2] Gist had been sent to Philadelphia for some object connected with the service. and on October 15 he wrote to Colonel Washington from Opeekon: "Your name is more talked of in Pennsylvania than any other person of the army, and everybody seems willing to venture under your command and if you would send some discreet person, doubt not he would enlist a good number, especially to be irregular, for all their talk is of fighting the Indian way. The Assembly of Pennsylvania is now sitting. . . . Mr. Franklin and indeed Mr. Peters both told me, if you was to write a pressing letter to them, informing them of the damage and murder, and desire their assistance, you would now get it sooner than any one in America." This letter is in the *Washington Papers*.

disposed off for the defence of the Country; I purchased 650 fine Beeves, to be deliver'd at Fort Cumberland by the First day of November, at 10/ pr. hund., except a few that I was obliged to give Eleven Shilg. for, and have my own Bonds now out for the performance of Covenants; this being the Commissary's Business, who, I am sorry to say, has hitherto been of no use, but of disservice to me, in neglecting my Orders, and leaving this place with't Flour, and Fredericksburg with't any Provisions for the Recruits, although their was timely notice given: I must beg, that if Mr. Dick will not act, some Person may be appointed that will; for if Things remain in this uncertain Situation, the Season will pass with't hav'g any provision made for the Winter's or Summer's Campaign: whoever acts as Commissary, should be sent up immediately abt. Salting the Provisions &c. It will be difficult I believe, to provide a quantity of Pork. I enquired as I rode thro' Hampshire, Augusta, &c, and cou'd not hear of much for Sale.

Most of the new appointed Officers have been extremely deficient in their Duties by not repairing to their Rendezvouses, according to Appointment. Captain McKenzie, Lieut King, and Ensigns Milner and Dean,[3] who were ordered to send their Recruits to Alexandria by the first of October, were not arrived when Captn. Waggener left that place, nor have we heard anything of Captn. Harrison, whose Recruits should have been at Fredericksburg by the same time; and Captn. Bell only sent his here on Saturday last. If these Practices are allowed off, we may as well quit altogether, for no duty can ever be carried on, if there is not the greatest punctuality observed, one thing always depending so immediately upon another.

[3] Capt. Robert McKenzie, Lieut. John King, Ensigns Nathaniel Miller, and John Dean.

I have appointed Captain George Mercer (whose Seniority entitled him to it) my Aid de camp; and Mr. Kirkpatrick[4] of Alexandria, my Secretary, a young Man bred to Business, of good Character, well recommended, and a Person of whose Abilitys cou'd not be doubted.

I hope your Honour will be kind enough to dispatch Colonel Stephen, with Orders to repair here immediately, and excuse the Prolixity of this; I was willing to give a circumstantial acct. of our Situation &ca. that you may be the better enabled to judge what Orders are necessary to give. I am, &c.

Winchester, October 14, 1755.

Majr. Lewis is just arrived, and on Thursday I shall begin my March to Fort Cumberland, allowing the Rects. 1 day to refresh themselves. [V.H.S.]

ADVERTISEMENT

[October 13, 1755.]

An inconceivable Panick which prevailed amongst the people of this County, induced me to write the following Advertisement:

Whereas divers timorous persons run through the Country and alarm its Inhabitants by False Reports, of the Indians having attacked and destroyed the Country, even Winchester itself, and that they are still proceeding: This is to give Notice to all people, that I have great reason to believe that the Indians who committed the late Cruelties (though no lower than the South Branch) are returned Home, as I have certain Accounts that they have not been seen nor heard of these ten days past: And I do advise all my Countrymen, not to be alarmed on every false Report they may hear, as they must now be satisfied, from the many false ones that have been made; but to keep to

[4] John Kirkpatrick.

their Homes and take care of their Crops; as I can venture to assure them, that in a short time the Frontiers will be so well Guarded, that no mischief can be done, either to them or their Plantations, which must of course be destroyed, if they desert them in so shameful a manner.

To CAPTAIN JOHN ASHBY

Winchester, October 14th., 1755.

It is my express Orders, that you do not presume to March your Company down on any pretence whatsoever, unless compelled by the Enemy. Clothes will be sent up immediately to you, which you may distribute to the most needy of your Company; and Money I shall bring up to pay them off, if wanted.

ORDERS

Winchester October 14, 1755.

Lieutenant Williams for the day.

Parole Abington.

A Return to be given in immediately of the Smiths belonging to Captain Waggeners Command; who are to assist in cleaning the Publick Arms here in Store; the Officer of the Day is to visit the Smiths at work on theArms, and to see that they do not neglect their Business. He is also to visit the Guard and Recruits, and see that no irregularities are committed by them, and to see the Guard properly relieved. A Return to be made every morning at 8 O'Clock, of the number of men here; and a regular Report of the Guard to be brought in by the Officer of the Day. Lieutenant Campbell for the Day, to-morrow, who is to observe these Orders. One Sergeant, one Corporal and Sixteen private men. The Guard to-day, to be composed of Captain Waggeners and Lieutenant Campbells Command;

An Orderly Sergeant to attend Colonel Washington at his Quarters. All Reports of the Guard &c. to be made to the Aid de Camp. A Court Martial to sit immediately for the trial of a prisoner in the Guard.

AFTER ORDERS

Captain Waggener for the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, for the Guard to-morrow. The Tour of Duty to begin with the eldest Lieutenant. The Paper which came up with Major Lewis's Command to be made up into Cartridges; in the doing of which, the Officer of the Guard is to see that no waste is made, either of the paper or ammunition.

The officer of the Day to see that no irregularities be committed; and is to overlook the Smiths and see they are diligent. A Return to be given in very early to-morrow to the Aid de Camp of the Smiths who came up with Major Lewis's Command; the Officer of the Guard to see that no Guns are fired in Town without leave from the Commander in Chief. The Officer of the Day to Report the occurrences which may happen, during his Tour of duty, to the Commander in Chief, at ten O'Clock. The Officer of the Guard to make his Report to the Aid de Camp, when he is relieved, which is to be at ten of the clock.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 15, 1755.

Captain Woodward for the day.

To morrow one Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty five private men, for the Guard. The Recruits to be completely armed, as far as they will go. The Orders given at Fredericksburgh, to have the Rolls called three times a day, are always to be observed; and the Officers are, at

calling the Rolls in the Evening, to see that the men have their Arms in good Order and Repair. The Officers of each Company, are to see that the men distinguish their Arms by some particular mark, which the Subalterns are to enter in a Book, they are to keep for that purpose. Lieutenant Campbells Recruits are to be joined with those under the Command of Captain Waggener, until further Orders. The commanding Officers of the Recruits are to give in a Return of the Arms they have received, and what kinds they want to complete them. If any of the men want Haversacks their Officers are to apply for Orders for Linen for that purpose, and see it immediately made up; Blankets are to be delivered by the Commissary to those of Lieutenant Campbells Recruits, who have not received Rugs, for which he is to pass his Receipt to the Commissary.

To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

If the Clothes, &c. which were mentioned in the last to you, are not sent up, I desire you will provide Waggons to send them up with the men which are to come up, immediately. Inclosed, you a have a list of Tools which we want very much, as the Boots on the Road all want Repairs; therefore desire you will get them or what you can of them, and send them up immediately. Yours, etc.

To LIEUTENANTS JOHN HALL AND JOHN KING

Winchester, October 16th, 1755.

I received yours, and am as much surprized at your delay in repairing to your Rendezvous, as being at a loss for *Orders* after you *did* arrive there.

I Order, that upon the receipt of this, you March the Recruits immediately to this place, where Clothes and Ammunition will be provided: for your provision is sent to meet you on Martin Hardens' Road, by which you are ordered to March.

If Captain Harrison is at Fredericksburgh, he is to take Command of the Recruits, and March them up here; if not, do not wait for him; march them up without, and wait there for Orders. You are to provide Linen at Mr. Dicks for Haversacks for the men, and bring it up with you, if you can, conveniently.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM PEACHY

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to send off all the Recruits which are now under your Command at Alexandria, immediately to Winchester; if there is a Captains Command, you are to order the next eldest Captain to march them up; if not, they are to be marched up by Lieutenant Bullet. The Order of the eleventh instant, about sending a Return to Fredericksburgh, by no means to be neglected. All the Officers who were appointed to Rendezvous at Alexandria the 20th. are allowed a further time, until the 15th. of November; when it is Ordered, that they appear there without delay, with what Recruits they may raise. You are to clothe all the men before you send them off, and must give the Officer who comes with the Recruits, a strict charge of the remainder, Orders will be left for him with Commissary Jones.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 16, 1755.

Parole Cumberland.

Captain Lewis the Day, to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-morrow. The Troops now quartered here,

to hold themselves in Readiness to march to morrow. The Waggon ordered down to Fredericksburgh, to set out immediately; and the Commissary to see the rest of the Waggons (except three which are to carry Provisions &c.) loaded with Salt.

Major Lewis to Detach a Subaltern and twenty men, to morrow morning to Philip Bebbs, there to receive some publick Cattle, which they are to Guard to Pearis's, and wait there until the whole Body joins them. All the Soldiers of the Light-horse, &c. who do not belong either to Major Lewis or Captain Waggeners Commands, are to wait upon the Aid de Camp to morrow morning at 8 O'Clock, to receive their Orders. Officers who want Haversacks for their Men, are to apply to Mr. John Dow, Merchant, for Linen, for which they are to give their Receipts. The Soldiers who brought down, or have any of the Country Horses, are to make a Return of them immediately, and to deliver them to the Aid de Camp.

AFTER ORDERS

Commanding Officers of Companies, are to see that their men make some contrivances immediately for carrying their Cartridges; of Skins, or something that will secure them.

Lieutenant Lowry, and Ensign Weedon, are to Act in Captain Woodwards Company as Subalterns, until further Orders. Captain Woodward is to take under his command one half of the Recruits which came up with Major Lewis; the rest to be under the command of Captain Lewis, and his Subalterns.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 17, 1755.

Parole Dartmouth.

Captain Waggener the Day to-morrow.

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer and twenty-five private men, the Guard, to-morrow. The

March of the Troops is postponed until to-morrow. The Officers to examine into the state of their Companies and see if they want any necessaries; and if properly provided for a march, the Commissary to see the Waggons loaded as soon as they arrive, according to yesterdays Orders. If he wants any men to assist him, he must apply to Major Lewis, who will order him what he thinks necessary. The Guard for the Cattle is also postponed, it is to March early to-morrow; and observe yesterdays' Orders.

To GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Winchester, October 17, 1755.

Sir: Last night by the return of the Express, who went to Captain Montour, I received the enclosed from Mr. Harris at Susquehanna.[5] I think no means should be neglected, to preserve what few Indians still remain in our Interest. For which reason I shall send Mr. Gist, as soon as he arrives (which I expect will be to-day), to Harris's Ferry,[6] in hopes of engaging and bringing with him the Belt of Wampum and other Indians that are at that place; I shall further desire him to send an Indian express to Andrew Montour, to try if he cannot be brought with them.

In however trifling light the French attempting to alienate the affections of our Southern Indians, may at first appear, I must look upon it as a thing of the utmost consequence, that requires our greatest and most immediate attention. I have often wondered at not hearing this was attempted before, and had it noted among other memorandums to acquaint your Honor of, when I should come down.

[5] John Harris, who lived a few miles east of the Susquehanna, in Paxton.
[6] Harris's Ferry, on the Susquehanna is now Harrisburg, Pa.

The French policy in treating with the Indians is so prevalent, that I should not be in the least surprised, were they to engage the Cherokees, Catawbas, &c. unless timely and vigorous measures are taken to prevent it. A pusillanimous Behaviour now, will ill suit the times; and trusting to Traders and common Interpreters, who will sell their integrity to the highest Bidder, may prove the destruction of these affairs; I therefore think that if a person of distinction, acquainted with their language, is to be found, his price should be come to at any rate. If no such can be had, a man of Sense and Character, to conduct the Indians to any Council that may be held, or superintend any other matters, will be found extremely necessary. It is impertinent, I own, in me to offer my opinion in these affairs, when better Judges may direct; but my steady and hearty zeal for the cause, and the great impositions I have known practised by the traders &c, upon these occasions, would not suffer me to be quite silent; I have heard, from undoubted authority, that some of the Cherokees, who have been introduced to us as Sachems and Princes, by this interpreter, who shares the profits, have been no other than common Hunters, and bloodthirsty Villains!

We have no accounts yet of the militia from Fairfax, &c. This day I march with about one hundred men to Fort Cumberland. Yesterday an Express informed me of eighty odd Recruits at Fredericksburg, which I have ordered to proceed to this place; but, for want of that regularity being observed, by which I should know where every Officer &c. is, my orders are only conditional, and always confused. The Commissary is much wanted; therefore I hope your Honor will send him up immediately, if not, things will greatly suffer here. Whatever necessaries your Honor gets below, I should be glad to have sent to Alexandria; from whence they are much more

handy than from Fredericksburg. Besides, as Provision is lodged there, and none at any other place, it will be better for the men, to be all sent there, that can any ways conveniently. For we have met with insufferable difficulties at Fredericksburg; and in our march from thence, through neglect of the commissary, who is greatly wanted up here. Therefore, I hope your Honor will order him.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 18, 1755.

Parole Epsom.

The Troops are not to March until to-morrow, there being no Waggons to carry the Provisions, &c.

Every Officer to keep an Orderly Book, to enter regularly all Orders as they issue, that they may be the better complied with. The Sergeant of the Guard with a file of men, to patrole through the Town, immediately after the Tattoo, and about midnight; and he is hereby expressly ordered, to take up all disorderly or other Soldiers which he may find in the Taverns, or from their own Barracks, and confine them in the Guard. For the future, the Officer of the Guard is to see all Orders which may issue during his tour of duty, relating to the guard, entered in a Book to be kept only for that purpose, and is to be left always in the guardhouse, and delivered over to the Relieving Officer, to prevent a repetition of Orders. Captain Woodward, the Day to-morrow. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal and twenty-five men, the Guard to-morrow.

Major Lewis, the three Captains, and the eldest Lieutenant, are to examine into Mr. George West's claim to a man, said to be his Servant, now in the Guard; which if he makes good, they are to deliver him up, and he to return the Bounty-money, or his Master to make it good. They are also to try all the

Prisoners in the Guard. All Orders relating to the Soldiers, are to be read to them every day, by the Sergeants of their Companies; that they may not plead ignorance. The Guard for the Cattle is not to march until to-morrow.

ORDERS TO CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER GIST

Winchester, October 18, 1755.

1. You are hereby ordered to Repair to Harris's Ferry, and other places where the Indians are upon the Susquehanna, and to use your utmost endeavours to engage them to come and lodge their Wives and Families in our Forts, and assist us in fighting their own Battles.

2ly. You are, so soon as you arrive at the first of those Town or Parties, to hire an Indian to go Express to Captain Andrew Montour; to whom you are to write, desiring him to come and assist you, in bringing them to Fort Cumberland.

3ly. You may assure the Indians that they shall meet with plenty of Provisions, &c. and that we shall take every opportunity to testify the Love we bear them.

4ly. If they should want Horses &c. to assist them along, you are to Hire; this, with all other reasonable charges, will be allowed you.

5ly. You may acquaint the Belt of Wampum, and other Chiefs, that I have complied with their Requests in letting the Governor of Virginia know, that the Shawnees and Delawares have taken the Hatchet against us; and of the French Scheme in setting the Southern Indians against us; which will now be prevented.

6ly. You may also promise Captain Montour from me, that if he will get and bring a Company of Indians consisting of Sixty men (which is the number of our Companies) that he shall have a Captains Commission, and receive ten shillings a

day, and be paid once a month regularly; and if he brings more Men, he will meet with further encouragement.

7ly. If you should meet with any likely young Fellows (Woods-men) you are to enlist them for His Majestys' Service, in your own Company: observing always the Instructions given you for that purpose. Given &c.

To ROBERT CALENDER

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

Mr. Gist being appointed Captain of a Company of Scouts, and informing me that you had a mind to engage in our Service; I thought it expedient to acquaint you, that if you can assist him in Recruiting some likely young Fellows, acquainted with the woods, that you will meet with proper Encouragement for so doing; either by receiving a post among us, or full Satisfaction for your trouble. I am &c.

To COMMISSARY JONES

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, to purchase on the best terms you can, 5000 LB of Flour; which must be laid in Store here as soon as possible. If you find that you can not purchase thereabouts, you are to have that Quantity brought from Conogogee.

You are hereby positively Ordered, to collect as many Waggons in this Town by the 30th. Instant, as will carry up all the Salt which is in Store here; and Provisions for one hundred and fifty men, who will March from this place at that time. If the Inhabitants who have Waggons &c. refuse to send them in; you are to apply to the Commanding Officer here, who will order you a party of Soldiers to bring them in by Force. Provision is to be delivered out to the Soldiers regularly; taking

special care that no more is delivered than the number you have returns for; which will be made you every day. You are to purchase all the Forage you can for the Publick; and have it delivered here for you, as soon as possible; at which time you may engage to pay them the money for what they deliver. &c.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICER OF THE TROOPS WHICH SHALL ARRIVE HERE FROM FREDERICKSBURG AND ALEXANDRIA

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to Halt with the men under your Command, until my Return from Fort Cumberland. You are to make regular Returns, signed by yourself, to the Commissary every day, of the number of men you have under your Command, for which he is to deliver you Provisions.

The Court House and Barracks at Lemons, are allotted for your men. You are to apply to the Commissary for some body to dress provisions for your men, and to provide firewood for them. The Guard left on the Magazine is to join the Recruits, and you to mount a fourth part of your men as a Guard, which is to be Relieved every Day, &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to remain at this place with the Recruits which may arrive here from Alexandria, &c. until my Return from Fort Cumberland: and you are, so soon as an Officer arrives with his men, to review them, and discharge such as are not answerable to their Recruiting Instructions.

Those that pass, are to receive their Clothing immediately; taking care to have what necessaries they have received from

their Officers, deducted out of those allowed them by the Country.

If they should seem uneasy about their Pay, you must get a Pay-Roll made out by their Officers to the 1st. of October, and pay them off. Their Pay to commence from the day of their Attestation.

The Guard left on the Magazine to join the Recruits; and a fourth part of them are to mount Guard every Day &c.

To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK

Winchester, October 20, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to wait at this place until my return from Fort Cumberland, that you may be ready to receive the necessary Orders. As the Recruits will March up at my return, which will be the 30th., if you think proper, you may order the Cattle up with that Escort.

There is a man arrived from Governour Dobbs,[7] with one hundred and eighteen Cattle; him I have engaged to wait your arrival, or my Return. &c.

To MAJOR JOHN CARLYLE

Winchester, October 21, 1755.

I have sent two Waggons[8] for the remainder of the Cloth-ing, which I desire you will immediately dispatch, as I expect it here by the 30th. If the two Waggons should be more than sufficient for bringing the Clothes, the Loads must be made up with Provision, or any other necessaries you think we want. &c.

[7] Gov. Arthur Dobbs, of North Carolina.
[8] To Alexandria.

ORDERS TO CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE[9]

Pearsalls,[10] October 23, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to remove with your Company from the place where you are now Quartered, to the Plantation of Nicholas Reasmer, in order to Escort Waggons to and from Fort Cumberland, and protect the Inhabitants, by sending out frequent Scouting Parties. You are to apply to Henry Vanmeater for Beeves, (or Provision) which he will deliver out of those I contracted with him for. You are to pass a Receipt to him for such as you receive. You will receive further Orders, as I return from Fort Cumberland.

To GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Pearsalls, October 23, 1755.

Sir: We arrived here to-day, where I met Captains Cocks and Ashby, whom I have appointed to remain on Pattersons Creek;[11] the one at Nicholas Reasmers, the other at Sellars's[12] in order to protect the Inhabitants on those Waters, and to Escort any Waggons to and from Fort Cumberland, with necessaries for the Service. It would be also necessary to have a party of the Militia appointed to this place, for the same purpose; the rest should be stationed above the Trough, at such convenient posts or passes, as you and Colonel Martin shall think advisable. Captain Cocks applied to me for pay; I have referred him to you. Have nothing particular to add, but Compliments to Colonel Martin, &c. Yours, etc.

[9] Similar orders were issued to Capts. John Ashby and Henry Van Meter this same day.

[10] On the South Branch of Potomac.

[11] Pattersons Creek enters the Potomac about 12 miles below Cumberland.

[12] Charles Sellars.

EVENING ORDERS

Pearsalls, October 23, 1755.

The General to beat to-morrow morning at day-break, and the Troops to march an hour after. As soon as the Guard is Relieved, and the Waggons fitted, the Men are to be called to Arms, by Beat of Drum, and to be tolled off into Platoons, and Marched off Regularly, with each Officer at the head of his Platoon; from which no Soldier is to stir, without leave from his Officer. The great Complaints made of the Soldiers, all the Roads they have Marched, pilaging and plundering of Houses; makes it necessary to give this Publick Notice. That, if any such irregularities are committed for the future, the person guilty shall receive five hundred Lashes, without the Benefit of a Court Martial. And it is Colonel Washingtons particular Orders, that every Officer does endeavour to prevent such things for the future. The Captain of the Day is to go the Rounds every night, and visit the Guard and Centries. He is to be received as grand Rounds. The Officer of the Guard, to go the Rounds thrice every night, and see that the Centries are alert. The Cattle for the future to be drove in the Rear of the whole body.

To LIEUTENANT BACON[13]

October 26, 1755.

You are to proceed to George Parkers Plantation, where you will meet with Captain William Cocks and his Company of Rangers, who are ordered to erect a Work of Defence at the said place.

You are to make choice of the most convenient Ground, and direct them in building a Quadrangular Fort of Ninety feet,

[13] Of the Maryland independent company.

with Bastions. You will direct them in what part of the Fort to build their Barracks, and the most convenient part for a Magazine. Another Fort of the same dimensions is to be built by Captain Ashby's Company, at the Plantation of Charles Sellars, or the late McCrackins; whichsoever you shall judge the most convenient Situation. You are to apply to each of these Companies for a Guard to escort you backwards and forwards, as often as you shall have occassion to to go &c.

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, October 26, 1755.

The clothing here in Store, to be delivered out to the most needy of the Men. Those which belong to the Officers, which they formerly received for the use of their Companies, are to be delivered out also: Shoes and Blankets are likewise to be delivered. The Officers to take particular accounts of what is delivered each man. All the men of the Virginia Regiment to be under Arms immediately, in order that they may be inspected by their Officers; and a due Return made of what is most necessary for them. Captain Savage, Lieutenants Blegg, Williams and Stewart,[14] are ordered down to Recruit, and immediately to prepare themselves to set off at an hours warning. The Recruits that came up under the command of Major Lewis, are to be commanded by Captains Woodward and Lewis; Lieutenants Steenbergen and Campbell; and Ensigns Hubbard and Weedon.[15]

The Company, formerly under the command of Captain Bronaugh,[16] to be continued so, until further Orders. The Men

[14] Capt. John Savage, Lieuts. John Blagg, John Williams, and Walter Stewart.

[15] Maj. Andrew Lewis, Capts. Henry Woodward and Charles or Joshua Lewis, Lieuts. Peter Steenbergen and John Campbell, Ensigns Edward Hubbard and George Weedon.

[16] Capt. William Bronaugh.

are to be acquainted, that their Officers are only sent off for the present occasion to Recruit, and that as soon as they all join, they will be put under the Command of the Officers who enlisted them. The Officers who have taken the Soldiers Clothes, are desired to return them immediately to the Publick Stores; as there are not Clothes sufficient in Store for the men.

Captain Waggener[17] is appointed to take care of the Company, lately under Captain Savages command, until further Orders. Lieutenant Lowry[18] to act in Captain Bronaugh's Company, in room of Lieutenant Stewart, until further Orders.

To COMMISSARY ALLAN McLEAN

[Fort Cumberland], October 26, 1755.

You are to see that the Arms here in Store be immediately inspected by Mr. Frasier;[19] and those fit for duty, to be packed in Chests to be sent down to Winchester the remainder to be repaired by Mr. Frasier. You are to see that as many of the Country Waggons as you have Harness and Horses for, be fitted out immediately. You are to engage all the Coopers you can to make and repair Barrels for the Beef, &c. You are to apply to Major Lewis, who will let you have those that came up with his party.

You are to receive and take an exact account, of all the Corn which is brought in here from the neighbouring plantations, which together with the Oats in Store, is to be delivered out only for the publick use, unless by particular Orders from me. You are to send down a Barrel of Flints with the Arms, to Winchester, and about two thousand weight of Flour, for the two Companies of Rangers; twelve hundred of which to be

[17] Capt. Thomas Waggener.
[18] Lieut. John Lowry.
[19] John Frasier.

delivered Captain Ashby and Company, at the Plantation of Charles Sellars; the rest to Captain Cockes' Company, at Nicholas Reasmers.

ORDERS

October 27, 1755.

Parole Dinwiddie.

The date's of all the Officers Commissions that came up yesterday, to be given in to the Adjutant: Corporal Broughton, of the Light Horse, to take all the Horses to the same place where they were before; to remain and take care of them. Lieutenant McManas, Fort Guard to-morrow; Lieutenant Bacon, the Redoubt-Guard.[20] The men who are to be discharged, are to receive a months Pay from Mr. Boyd[21] for each; and to make a deduction for the Nurse of the Hospital,[22] according to the weekly stoppages that should have been made for her.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

October 27, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to send out Parties to gather the Corn at the Plantations of those people, who are supposed to be killed or taken prisoners by the Indians, and have it secured for the Publick; taking a particular account of what is gathered from each Plantation. You are also to send out small Parties to Protect the Country People, while they gather their their Corn that is near the Fort. When the Indians arrive with Captain Montour or Gist, you are to see them properly provided with all necessaries, and use your utmost endeavours to see them duly encouraged; and the Officers are all desired to take notice of them and treat them kindly, as their assistance at this time is absolutely necessary. As there are several people near this place who were killed by the Indians, and have not yet been buried,

[20] Of the Maryland troops.
[21] Alexander Boyd.
[22] Mary Bailey, of the hospital at Winchester.

you are to send out a Party for that purpose. You are to collect all the Arms which have been given out to the Country People, and Fuses (intended for the Indians) which were delivered to the Sergeants here, and return them to the Stores. You are to cause the Bottom on the other side of the Creek to be cleared immediately; which the frequent alarms and hard Duty, have hitherto prevented. You are to see that the Blankets belonging to the Publick, which the Officers made use of on the march, be immediately restored; and you are to deliver to the most needy of the men of the Virginia Regiment, Shoes and Blankets.

The Officers to take notice what men are Served. You are to see that the Articles of War are frequently read to the men.

To CAPTAINS WILLIAM COCKE AND JOHN ASHBY

October 27, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to remain with your Companies at George Parkers' Plantation, where you are to erect a Stockade Fort; in building of which, you are to follow Lieutenant Bacons Instructions; he being sent to direct and plan the same: As this is intended for the protection of the Country People, there is no doubt but they will assist all in their power, especially in providing Tools which, without, you may meet with some difficulty. If Lieutenant Bacon should apply for an Escort to conduct him to Captain Ashby's Company, or to any other place, to which it may be dangerous travelling without; you are to see that he is allowed it: You are to send a trusty Sergeant with proper powers &c. for Recruiting, in order to complete your Company. You are to be very careful to see that no irregularities are committed by your Company, that strict Discipline is observed, and that great pains be taken to inculate morality and good Harmony, among the Men.

You are to build Barracks therein for your Men, and a Magazine for the Reception of the Stores which are to be sent hither. Also, to receive necessaries for your own Company.

You are to collect all the Publick Arms and Horses, which you may hear of in the parts adjacent to you, and secure them until they are called for. You are to transmit me the first day of every month, a particular Return of the State of your Company, relating to the variations that may have happened; as also an exact account of your proceedings since your last Return.

Besides these, you are to send me a weekly Return, signed by yourself and Officer, of the State of your Company. You are to provide yourself upon the most reasonable terms, with such Tools as you find absolutely necessary to carry on the work. You are to receive provisions for immediate use, according to my Order at Pearsalls; and you will hereafter be supplied from this Fort with what you want. By return of the Waggons which came up with Major Lewis's party, you will receive about eight hundred weight of Flour; and that you are to be particular in seeing no waste is committed &c.

N. B. Captain Ashby's Company is stationed at Sellar's and McCrackins;[23] at the direction of Lieutenant Bacon.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 28, 1755.

Parole Hampton.

The Officers who came down from Fort Cumberland with Colonel Washington, are immediately to go Recruiting; and they are allowed until the 1st. of December; at which time if they do not punctually appear at the place of Rendezvous assigned them, they will be tried by a Court Martial, for disobedience of Orders.

[23] About 5 miles south of Fort Cumberland on the road to Winchester.

They are to wait upon the Aid de Camp at one of the Clock, to receive their Recruiting Instructions. Each Officer present, to give in a Return immediately of the number of men he has enlisted. One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and twenty-five private men, are to mount Guard to-day, and to be relieved to-morrow at ten o'clock. All Reports and Returns are to be made to the Aid de Camp.

To ENSIGN WILLIAM FLEMING[24]

October 28, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to repair to Captain Hogg's Company at Fort Dinwiddie, with eight good men; as that Company is without a Surgeon, if you will do that duty, an allowance will be made you for it. You are to provide medicines, &c. upon the best terms you can. This Order I expect will be immediately complied with; and that no Delays be offered. You are to account with Captain Bell for your recruiting money, before you leave him. If you should arrive at Augusta Court-House before Sergeant Wilper[25] and his Party, you are to halt there until he joins, in order to escort the Ammunition, &c. for the Fort; where you will receive Clothes and Arms for the Men.

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

October 28, 1755.

I have Ordered Ensign Fleming to Repair to Captain Hoggs Company with eight good men; which I expect you will see immediately complied with. He is to account with you for his recruiting money before he leaves you.

[24] William Fleming, who later settled in Botetourt County. In 1774 he commanded a regiment at the Battle of Point Pleasant. He became a member of the House of Burgesses and remained in Richmond in 1781 after the governor and legislature fled before Benedict Arnold's advance; as the only State official present he acted as governor, and his measures were later legalized by the legislature.

[25] John David Wilper (Woelper).

You are hereby Ordered, peremptorily, to be at this place with what men you have, or can enlist by the 1st. of December. Your late disobedience of Orders has greatly displeased me. It is impossible to carry on affairs as they ought to be, when you pay so little regard to the Force of a Military Order. You must be conscious within yourself (or at least ought to be) that your Crime is sufficient to Break the best Officer that ever bore a Commission.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

October 28, 1755.

Sir; I received yours of the 6th. of October, inclosing the Returns of your Company, only this day. Ferguson[26] was sent after you, but falling ill, by a Sore on his Arm, was ordered to halt here, where he now remains unfit for Duty: therefore I have sent in his room. Sergeant Wilper has received from Fort Cumberland and this place, Arms and Clothing to complete your Company to the Establishment. He has enlisted three men on his March, and I have ordered Ensign Fleming, with eight others, to join you; he being a Surgeon, he is desired to take care of your Company; for which he will be allowed. You must use your best endeavours to secure your provisions, and do with it as you see most needful: It is impossible I can direct about it at this distance, properly. As we have contracted for a large quantity of Beef already, you are desired to engage no more than what will suffice for your own Company. I shall see that money is lodged with Mr. Dick for your use, when I see him. You are to see the usual stoppages from the mens pay while they are in the Hospital, to answer the expence of Nurses, &c.

[26] Duncan Ferguson.

You must be very careful not to slip the opportunity of purchasing Grain for your Company, that being your only dependance for Bread; the Commissary having no orders to make provisions for you. If any of your men should desert or die, you are immediately to Recruit others, keeping your Company to the Establishment.

To LIEUTENANT RICHARD BACON[27]

October 28, 1755.

Sir; As those Stockades on Pattersons Creek, are only intended by way of cover to the Rangers, and as a Receptacle now and then for Provisions; you are desired not to plan any work, which requires much time to execute. We have neither Men or Tools, to carry on the undertaking with vigour.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered, so soon as the Waggons arrive from Alexandria and Fort Cumberland, with Clothing and Arms, to see the men completely furnished with both; and march them immediately to Fort Cumberland; observing to take up all the Salt which the waggons, provided by the commissary, will carry. There will come down some of the country waggons, which must also be loaded up with Salt.

As there is some clothing wanting to complete the Companies at Fort Cumberland, you are to take up for that purpose forty Coats, thirty-nine waistcoats, and fifty-six pair of Breeches; thirty-eight Hats and eighty Shirts; which you are to have delivered out to the Companies, according to the Return

[27] Of the Maryland independent company.

made me at Fort Cumberland, October 26th. I have sent more Suits than are necessary, in case of getting a Recruit &c. You must do the best you can in Lodging the men, as the Barracks in the Fort are full. As Sergeant Wilper is waiting the return of the waggons from the Fort, for necessaries for Captain Hoggs Company; so soon as they arrive, you are to see that he receives such things as he has orders for, and dispatch him immediately. If no other Horses, belonging to the Country, can be had here, one of the Country Teams must be stopped, and the horses given to him. You must engage the herdsmen to remain with the Cattle, until they hear from the Commissary or from me. You must engage all the Coopers you can to make Barrels for packing the Beef; and if any of the Soldiers are Coopers, they must be set immediately to work. You are to receive from the Stores here thirty pounds of Goose-shot, which you will deliver to Captain Ashby's Company as you pass by, directing him to be particularly careful of it. If either of the Captains of the Rangers should apply to you for Ammunition, you are to supply him from the Fort. A Drummer, with his Drum, is to be sent from this place with Sergeant Wilper, in the room of Duncan Ferguson, who is to go up to Fort Cumberland. You are to see that the men of the Virginia Regiment are exercised as often every day as the duty will admit; and that they are practised also in shooting at Targets; and if there are any who are remarkably awkward, particular pains must be taken with them. You must observe on your march good order and discipline, and see that no irregularities happen; and that the men are not allowed to pillage the Country, which was very much complained of in the last Detachment. You are to apply to Major Lewis for the Instructions which I left with him, and see that they are observed.

To COMMISSARY CHARLES DICK

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

You are, so soon as you arrive here, to give such directions as you shall see necessary about driving the Cattle to Fort Cumberland. You are to send up Doctor Walker, or go yourself there, to see them killed and properly salted. Whichever of you remains here, must purchase such a quantity of Pork, as you imagine will be necessary for the Troops, upon the most reasonable terms you can; and oblige them to deliver it at whatever time you shall judge most proper. You are to answer, out of the money in your hands, whatever Draughts Captain Hogg may draw on you for the subsistance of his Company, from time to time. You are to see that Coopers are engaged to make Barrels for the Provisions, and to provide all other necessaries for the Expedition, which you know will be wanted.

As there are several Contracts made by me to have Cattle delivered here &c. by the 1st. of next month, I desire that for such as you receive upon that account, if you have money in your hands, you make immediate payment.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 29, 1755.

Parole Williamsburgh.

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer and twenty-five private men, the Guard to-day. Captain Peachy is ordered to take upon him the command of the Recruits which arrived here under Lieutenant Hall and Ensign Price;[28] who are also ordered to act under him, until further orders. Ensign Hedgeman,[29] and the Recruits which arrived with him, are

[28] Lieut. John Hall and Ensign Leonard Price.

[29] Ensign George Hedgeman.

ordered to join Lieutenant King,[30] and be under his command until further orders. Lieutenant Eustace,[31] and the eight men with him, are to join (as soon as they arrive at Fort Cumberland) the Company which Captain Waggener commands at present; and the Party left with Sergeant Shaw,[32] is to return to their respective Companies, so soon as they reach the Fort. The Commissary is to see that the Magazine is secured, by fastening up the windows &c. better than they now are. The Officers are to see that the men are clothed to-morrow, and to be very particular in their Accounts of what they receive. They will also receive Arms so soon as they arrive from Fort Cumberland, to complete their Recruits. They are to see that each man distinguishes his Firelock by some particular mark, which the Subalterns of the Company are to enter in a Book, they are to keep for that purpose. Every Officer is to provide an Orderly Book to enter the Orders in as they issue every day regularly, that they may examine them often, and see they are duly complied with. Captain Bronaugh, Lieutenant Stewart, Blegg and Williams, sent Recruiting, and to Rendezvous at Alexandria, the 1st. of December.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT SPOTSWOOD

October 31, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, as soon as the Clothes and Arms arrive, to furnish all the men who now Rendezvous at Fredericksburgh, with both; and march them immediately with the utmost dispatch to Fort Cumberland, to reinforce the Garrison. When you arrive at Winchester, you must provide your

[30] Lieut. John King.
[31] Lieut. Hancock (Heindrick or Hendrick) Eustace.
[32] Sergt. William Shaw.

men with Cartridges. You are to be very careful and circumspect in your march; and see that your men do not on any account whatsoever, plunder or pillage the Houses which the people have deserted, or any others, or Plantations. Lieutenant Frazier and Ensign Carter,[33] are appointed to this Command.

To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD

Fredericksburg, November 1, 1755.

As Colonel Stephen has brought £1000 which I wrote for to pay off the Troops, it will save you a journey to Williamsburg at this time; but I think it absolutely necessary that you should, after paying the Troops in Garrison, go into Augusta, to pay off Captain Hoggs Company, which is now complete; unless you can send the money by Mr. McClenachan,[34] or some safe hand from hence. The Recruits at Fort Cumberland are all paid off to the 1st. of October as private men, there being no distinction made between them and Sergeants, none having yet been regularly appointed.

Colonel Stephen will give you an account of those he has paid, and how. If any have received Sergeants pay, it must be deducted next payment: as also two-pence per month, from each non-commissioned Officer and Soldier for purchasing medicines; this is to be paid to the Surgeon Quarterly. There is also six-pence per month to be stopped from the Drummers, to be paid to the Drum-Major for teaching them, and repairing the Drums. These deductions you are hereby ordered to make each pay-day; less countermanded by the Governor or myself. If any non-commissioned Officer or Soldier should happen to die, he is to be continued on the pay-roll as an effective man, for twenty-eight days, to pay for his Coffin, &c.[35] I am &c.

[33] Lieut. George Frazier and Ensign Thomas Carter.
[34] Thomas(?) McClenachan.
[35] This precise direction was Governor Dinwiddie's instruction to Washington.

To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER

Williamsburg, November 11, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the utmost dispatch to Winchester, where you will receive the Orders left there by me, which you are, as soon as possible, to execute. The Cattle I shall leave entirely to you, to order up altogether or in small droves, as you shall think proper. You are to set up Advertisements, at all the public places convenient to the Fort, for the Inhabitants to bring in all the Pork they can spare, and that they will be allowed the market price, and ready money for any Quantity. You are then to proceed to the Fort, where the Beeves and Hogs are to be killed, with all convenient dispatch; and you are to see that they are well salted and packed up in the Barrels, which you are to have made for that purpose. The Salt is to be forwarded to the Fort with the utmost dispatch from Winchester, or other places where it is lodged.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

Sir: I came to this place on Sunday last, and intended to proceed immediately up;[36] but receiving yours and other Letters contradicting the reports lately transmitted, determined me to go to Alexandria; where I shall wait a few days, in hopes of receiving the express from General Shirley, who the Governor sent to for commissions for the Field Officers.

I beg that you will be particularly careful in seeing strict order observed among the Soldiers, as that is the Life of Military discipline. We now have it in our Power to enforce obedience; and obedience will be expected from us; the Men being

[36] To Winchester.

subject to death, as in Military Law. The Country have also offered a reward to all who will apprehend deserters; and a severe punishment upon those, who shall entertain or suffer them to pass; also upon any constable who refuses to convey them to their Quarters, or suffer them to Escape, after such deserter is committed to their custody.

These things, with the Articles of War, and a proper exhortation, I would have you immediately read to the Men; and see that it is frequently done hereafter. I must desire that you will use all possible means to facilitate the Salting our Provisions; and to give the Commissary such assistance of Men &c. as he shall ocasonably require. The Governor approves of the Committee's resolve, in not allowing either the Maryland or Carolina Companies to be supported out of our Provisions; this you are desired to make them acquainted with, and in case either of the Company's shoud be discharged, to use your utmost endeavours to enlist so many of their Men as you can. Lieutenant McManus[37] has leave to go to Carolina if he desires it. The Assembly would make no alteration in the Militia Law; nor would the Governor order them to be draughted to compleate our Regiment; so that the slow method of Recruiting, is likely to be our only means to raize the Men. I think, coud a brisk Officer and two or three Sergeants be sent among the Militia stationed on the South Branch, they would have a probable chance of engaging many; as some seemed Inclinable in Winchester to enlist. Doctor Craik[38] is expected round to Alexandria in a Vessel, with Medicines and other Stores for the Regiment; so soon as he arrives, I shall take care to despatch him to you.

[37] Lieutenant McManus belonged to the North Carolina troops.

[38] Dr. James Craik, of Alexandria, a lifelong friend of Washington. He was surgeon to the Virginia Regiment and later chief physician and surgeon of the Continental Army. He was one of the attending physicians at Washington's last illness.

The Colonels Bird and Randolph, are appointed Commissioners;[39] and will set out very shortly with a present, &c. to the Country of the Cherokees, in order to engage them to our Interest.

We have advices that the King return'd to London from Hanover on the 26th. of September, that War was Proclaim'd the 29th., and that we have already taken 5 of their Men of War and 120 Sail of Merchent Men; a bold stroke by jove; a glorious beginning; and I hope presages our future success. The Man of War mention'd in my last is not yet arriv'd, tho hourly expected; it is said (tho I can't believe it the King not being arriv'd when other ship left England) that she has Commission's for us:[40] Another ship of War was said to be dispatched to America imediately upon the declaration so that I have sanguine expectation's we soon shall receive them if they are not already on their way. I am encourag'd to hope this as all the Publick Prints, private Letters, and Gentleman from England say; that the behaviour of the Virginia Troops is greatly extold, and meets with public praises in all the Coffee Houses in London. Yea they exceed the bounds of probability (which I am sorry for) by saying in the London Magazine for August, that 300 Virginians maintain'd an unequal fight against 1600 French and Indians for three hour's after the Regular's fled. The Generals conduct is much condemn'd and the acct. further says; it is not to be wonder'd that those Regiments shou'd act so scandalously here when their behaviour reflected such dishonour on their Country at the Battle of Preston Pan's.[41]

[39] Peter Randolph and William Byrd. Commissioners to treat with the southern Indians. They successfully negotiated a treaty and returned to Williamsburg in 1756.

[40] That would settle the dispute of rank with the captains of the independent companies.

[41] Prestonpans, in Scotland, a few miles from Edinburgh. The battle (in the War of the Austrian Succession) occurred Sept. 21, 1745, and was a victory for the pretender, Charles Edward.

By return of the express that brings this, I desire to have a return of the Troops with any occurances and the News that may have happen'd. I am etc.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART[42]

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

You are to repair immediately to Winchester; in the neighbourhood of which you are to recruit your Troops to the establishment of men. You are not to go any distance from that Town, until further Orders, as you will have the care of the Recruits which rendezvous there. You are to direct Corporal Broughton, who has the charge of the Troop of Horses, to be particularly careful of them; and you are to receive a horse that was left at Joseph Edwards, as one of the number. If any advices should come from Fort Cumberland or other places, you are to dispatch an Express with a return of the Troop, and Letters to me immediately, ordering him to proceed to Alexandria by Vestalls Gap.[43] You are not to enlist Servants or Apprentices; nor are you to discharge any person after he is duly enlisted; which I am informed has been practised by some of the Officers. You are to forward the Letter for the Pay-master, by that Messenger you send to the Fort for your Sergeant.

To LIEUTENANT AUSTIN BROCKENBROUGH

Fredericksburgh, November 18, 1755.

You are to proceed to those public places, where you have the greatest probability of success, and use your utmost endeavours to enlist what able-bodied men you can for his Majesty's

[42] Of the Light Horse.

[43] Later known as Williams Gap; farther north in the Blue Ridge than Snickers Gap, which became the more-traveled route into the Shenandoah.

Service. You are not to enlist Servants or Apprentices, nor discharge any man after he is duly enlisted, upon any pretence whatsoever. In marching your Recruits to the place of Rendezvous, if there are any complaints of their misbehaviour, you will be liable to the censure of a Court Martial. You are to have particular regard to your recruiting Instructions, and to be at Alexandria, your place of Rendezvous, with what men you have raised, on the 1st of December precisely.

N. B. The same instructions to Ensigns Milner and Smith;[44] with this difference, that Milner is allowed to the 25th. of December.

To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD

Fredericksburg, November 18, 1755.

I have had advice of Captain Hogg's Company at Fort Dinwiddie mutinying for want of their pay; which must be attributed entirely to your neglect: as I gave you orders in my last, to go, or send to that Fort, with the money for that Company. If you should not have sent it before this reaches you, you are to proceed immediately to that Fort, with two months' pay. You are only to pay the effective men &c.

To ENSIGN DENNIS McCARTHY

November 22, 1755.

I am very sorry you have given me occasion to complain of your conduct in Recruiting; and to tell you, that the methods and unjustifiable means you have practised, are very unacceptable, and have been of infinitely prejudice to the Service: of this I am informed by many Gentlemen, as well as by all the Officers who were ordered to recruit in these parts: and am

[44] Ensigns Nathaniel Milner and Charles Smith.

further assured, that it is next to an impossibility to get a man where you have been; such terror have you occasioned by forcibly taking, confining and torturing those, who would not voluntarily enlist. These proceedings not only cast a slur upon your own Character, but reflect dishonour upon mine; as giving room to conjecture, that they have my concurrence for their source. I must therefore acquaint you, that such Behaviour in an Officer would shake his Commission! Let it then be a warning to you, who I still hope, erred more through inadvertence than design; for which reason, I shall forget the past, in sanguine hopes of what is to come. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Alexandria, November 28, 1755.

Sir: I received your two Letters by Jenkins last Night, and was greatly surpris'd to hear that Commissary Walker[45] was not arriv'd at Camp, when he came away. He set out from Williamsburgh about the 12th instant, with orders to proceed immediately up; but such disobedience of commands, as I have generally met with is insufferable, and shall not go unpunished! The account you enclosed of the method of receiving the Beef, I suppose is customary; but for want of judgment in those affairs, I can neither applaud nor condemn it. I am as much astonish'd as you was surprized, at the quantity of Salt said to be wanted for the Provision's, but certain it is, that if it, or a greater quantity is absolutely necessary, it must be had. I have left a discretionary power in Commissary Walker, to kill or Winter the Carolina Beeves, as the Interest of Service requires. Pray assist him with your advice, and urge him on to make the necessary purchases of Flour and Pork, in time.

[45] Thomas Walker; appointed as an additional commissary

The Governour did not seem inclinable to promote the removal of the Fort; however, the Committee have lodged a discretionary power in my hands, and have resolved to pay for all extraordinary Work.[46] I would therefore have as little labour lost at Fort Cumberland as possible; at least until I come up, which will be very shortly, my stay here being only for a few days, in order to receive Recruits, and hurry up the Stores to Winchester.

I believe those, who say Governour Sharpe is to command, can only wish it. I don't know that General Shirley has a power to appoint a chief to our Forces,—to regulars he may. As to that affair of turning the Store-House into a dwelling-Room; I dont know what better answer to give, than saying, that this is one among the many instances that might be given, of the inconveniences of having the Fort in Maryland. As soon as I hear from Governor Shirley, which is hourly expected, I can then send a more determined answer.

There has been such total negligence among the Recruiting Officers in general; such disregard of the Service, and such idle proceedings, that I am determined to send out none until we all meet together, when each Officer shall receive his own men and have only this alternative, either to compleat his number, or loose his Commission. There are several Officers who have been out 6 weeks and two months, without getting a Man; spending their time in all the gayety of pleasurable mirth, with their relations and Friends; not attempting, or having a possible chance of recruiting any but those who, out of their inclination to the service, will proffer themselves.

I should be glad to have ten or twelve Waggons sent to this place, for salt, enough may be had here to load that number; and it comes upon easier terms than at Fredericksburg by 6d.

[46] On the fort at Wills Creek.

or 8d. per bushel. Those stores at Watkins's Ferry and Conogochieg should be hurried up as fast as the Water affords opportunitys, if it were only to prevent disputes. The enclosed for Lieutenant McManus I shou'd be glad to have forwarded by the first opportunity.

If the paymaster is at Winchester, and not on his way to Fort Dinwiddie, order him down here immediately. If he should be going with Pay to Captain Hogg[47] he is to proceed with despatch; but if he is at Fort Cumberland, order him down to Winchester, to wait there until I arrive. I am, &c.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Alexandria, November 28, 1755.

I am sorry to find by your Returns that the men are deserting, and fear you do not take proper means to prevent it. The last account I had from you was of the 3d. instant; mentions your not having received the Salt, Iron, &c. which surprizes me greatly; Major Lewis having ordered it up sometime ago: and by Mr. Dicks accompt., I stand charged with the several Articles. However, I have repeated my Orders, and hope you will be soon supplied, if it has not already reached you.

I ordered from Winchester in October, that two months pay should be remitted you immediately by some safe hand; if that could not be done, the paymaster was then to carry it himself: and I can not conceive the reason that you have not received it. As to the pay for your Beeves, it may be had by drawing upon Mr, Walker, who is now appointed Commissary for the Expedition.

The late Assembly have offered a reward to all who will apprehend Deserters; and a severe punishment upon any who shall detain or assist them in escaping. Also upon all Constables who shall refuse to receive and convey them to the Troop or

[47] Captain Hogg's men had mutinied because of the failure to pay them.—*Sparks.*

Company to which they belong; or shall suffer them to escape after they are committed to their care.

I must again order, that you will be diligent in seeing those Orders executed which I left with you. I expect some Recruits here the 1st. of next month: and shall, if any can be spared, order another Subaltern and twenty-five men, to join you. Yours &c.

ORDERS

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

Captain Bronaugh is ordered to hold himself in readiness to repair to Winchester immediately. All the other Officers now present, except Captain John Mercer, and Ensign Buckner, are to hold themselves in readiness to set out for Recruiting, and are to wait on Colonel Washington, at 2 O'Clock this Evening for their Orders. Captain John Mercer is to prepare himself to go to Williamsburgh; and Ensign Buckner to remain here, to take charge of the Recruits, receive and deliver the Public Stores. Each Officer to make out an accompt. of what pay is due himself and men to the 1st. of December, and to give them in to-morrow morning at 9 o'clock, to the Aid de camp, and they will be paid. If any of the Volunteers or Cadets have a desire to go with any of the Recruiting Officers, to assist them, they will have leave.

And it is Colonel Washingtons orders, they do not attempt to Recruit by or for, themselves.

To CAPTAIN JOSHUA LEWIS

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

You are hereby ordered, to continue Recruiting until the 25th. Instant; at which time you are with your Recruits, to be at Winchester without fail.

You are to proceed to all Elections and other public meetings that you can possibly attend, between this and the said

25th. of December; and use your utmost endeavours, to enlist such able-bodied men as are fit for his Majesty's Service.

You are to enlist no Servants or Apprentices; nor are you to discharge any man after he is duly enlisted, upon any pretence whatsoever; neither are you invested with power to impress Horses, &c. as had been practised hitherto without leave: In all other respects you are to govern yourself strictly by your General Instructions: and be assured, if any just complaint is made of the misbehaviour of your men, in their march to the place of Rendezvous, you will be liable to answer it before a Court Martial.

MEMORANDUM

A Copy of the above Instructions was given at the same time, to Lieutenants Bullet, Stewart, Blegg, Williams, and Brockenbrough: Ensigns Smith and Dekeyser: and on the 5th. day, to Captain Christopher Gist.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRONAUGH

Alexandria, December 3, 1775.

You are hereby ordered to proceed immediately to Winchester, with the money entrusted to your care, which is to be delivered to Mr. Boyd, Paymaster; taking his Receipt for the same. If it should happen that Mr. Boyd is returned to Fort Cumberland, you are to follow him to that place. After delivering this money, you are to employ your time diligently until the 25th. of December, in recruiting; at which time you are to be at Winchester without fail. You are to observe the Instructions given you before; * * *[48]

[48] The rest of the instructions are the same as those given to Capt. Joshua Lewis, this date.

To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

I received yours by Lieutenant Lemon, and am sorry to find that the Carolina Beeves are so unfit for Slaughtering: of this I was informed in a late Letter from Colonel Stephens: in consequence I desired him to assist you with his advice, either to kill & salt, or feed them this winter; as Mr. Dick entered into contract with Shepherd,[49] whose *all* I believe, depends upon my confirming or rejecting the Bargain: I shall endeavour to avoid, as much as is in my power taking any advantages that may distress the poor man; or disannul any agreement Mr. Dick has made: but you are nevertheless to make the best of this bad bargain; perhaps he would take the poor Cattle back to Carolina, and keep them until the Spring, for a small consideration. Provender is very scarce in this Colony; however consult Colonel Stephen and others who can advise; and do the best with them for the good of the Service. I have engaged about two hundred bushels of Salt at this place, which you are to send for as soon as possible. Whoever you have appointed Deputy at Winchester, must be very diligent in seeing this done.

I do not care to lay in Provisions for more than twelve hundred men, without particular Orders from the Governor; whom I shall consult on that head, and let you know. If you find our paper-money will not pass current in Maryland, you should be careful to employ as few of their water-men as possible; that we may sustain no loss upon that account. You should also, for the same reason, purchase what Flour &c. you can, in our own Colony. As I am unacquainted with the proper

[49] Andrew Shepherd.

methods to cure provisions, I must desire you will consult the principal Officers at the Fort; and if their opinions corroborate with yours, let some of the Beef be dried, as you propose. I must recommend diligence in the strongest terms to you (at this time particularly) much depending upon your activity, as the Season is so far advanced. I can not help telling you, I am sorry you was so long between Williamsburgh and Winchester.

I am informed, that meat will lie sometime in bulk without salt. I think you should not delay slaughtering the Beeves one moment.

I hope you have sent Orders to Mr. McLean already about this; if not, pray do; for the Cattle must lose flesh every hour. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

Your Letters, by Jenkins,[50] were sometime coming to hand; as I suppose mine will be in getting to you; he being ordered round by Fredericksburgh. The Employ you mention, in apprehending Deserters, is very laudable; nevertheless I must desire you will repair immediately to the Fort, to see that the Orders left there, and those you have since received, are punctually complied with. If you find that the Hill apposite to Fort Cumberland, upon a proper review, is capable of containing a sufficient work of defence, and that the adjoining hill has not the command of it; you may order Timber and other necessaries to be got, to erect a Fort and Barrack there.

I have ordered some falling axes to be made here, and shall provide some broad ones out of the Stores, which shall be sent

[50] William Jenkins, express rider.

up by the first Waggons. I wait here in hourly expectation of seeing a Vessel from Hampton with Sundries for the use of the Regiment a soon as she arrives, and I have sent off the contents, I shall set out for Winchester.

I am extremely sorry to hear that the men still continue to desert; and must think, it is partly owing to mismangement: and their escape, to inactivity of the Officers: Surely they do not pursue them with proper resolution, or they might be taken. I have not yet received the Mutiny Bill; it shall be forwarded when I do. Yesterday being the time appointed to Rendezvous here, came in ten Officers, with twenty Recruits; which make up the number at this place, twenty-five Great! As to what you desire, of going on an Embassy to the Creeks and Cherokees; I have no more right to give leave for as long an absence, than I have to commission you with proper authorities for such an undertaking: both must proceed from the Governour. If he approves, I have no objection. But, if I may offer my opinion, I can scarcely think he will; since the Colonels, Bird and Randolph, are already appointed. I have sent up a thousand pounds to Mr. Boyd, for payment of the Troops: and Mr. Lemon informing me the Rangers were complaining on this head; I have ordered him to send money for paying them also: Colonel Fairfax not being in the way to do it.

I would have you send as many Officers as you can spare, after acquainting them with the determination mentioned in my last, to the Election in Fredericksburgh and Hampshire, and to all other public meetings: I am deceived, if those public places will not afford men, if pains are taken. Give each a copy of the enclosed Instructions. I have thought it advisable, since my last letter to you, to employ the Officers in this Service; the Elections affording favourable opportunities to increase our

numbers: to neglect which I should be loth. They must be punctual in repairing to the Rendezvous at the limited time; for then I shall endeavour to put this Service under better regulations, &c. Yours

N. B. I wish you would take a party, and examine well the Hill at the mouth of Patterson's Creek: I have a *great* notion that is a very good place.[51]

To PAYMASTER ALEXANDER BOYD

Alexandria, December 3, 1755.

You will receive from the Bearer, Captain Bronaugh, one thousand pounds, for payment of the Troops; which you are to see immediately done, agreeably to their muster Rolls; having regard to those Instructions of the 28th. October. As I understand the Rangers are complaining for want of their pay; you must send such part of this money as is sufficient to do that; and also one months pay to Captain Hogg's Company, if any opportunity offers.

You are to be particularly exact and careful in these payments: seeing that there is no disagreement between the Returns, and your Pay-Rolls; as there will be strict examination into it hereafter. I am &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, December 5, 1755.

Honble. Sir: I have sent the bearer, Captain John Mercer (who has accompts. to settle with the Committee), to the treasurer for the balance of that ten thousand pounds; and to acquaint your Honour, that, meeting with letters at Fredericksburg, as I returned from Williamsburg, informing me

[51] For a fort.

that all was peaceable above, and that nothing was so immediately wanting as salt. I got what I could at that place, and hastened on here to engage more; to receive the recruits expected in; and to wait the arrival of the vessel with arms, &c., from James River, in order to forward them up with the greater despatch. The vessel is not yet arrived.

I have impatiently expected to hear the result of your Honour's letter to General Shirley; and wish that the delays may not prove ominous. In that case, I shall not know how to act; for I can never submit to the command of Captain Dagworthy, since you have honoured me with the command of the Virginia regiment, &c.[52]

The country has sustained inconceivable losses by delaying the commissaries at Williamsburg: Many of the Carolina beeves are dead, through absolute poverty; and the chief part

[52] The old difficulty of rank between provincial officers and those holding commissions from the King had been revived at Fort Cumberland. Immediately after the affair of the Great Meadows the Assembly of Maryland granted the small sum of £6,000 for the defense of the frontiers, and in the following December they passed an act authorizing the governor to raise a military force. A few soldiers only were enlisted, and at this time a Maryland company of 30 men was stationed at Fort Cumberland under the command of Capt. John Dagworthy, who had been an officer in the Canada expedition during the last war and had received a King's commission. Governor Innes had gone home to North Carolina on his private affairs. Dagworthy assumed the command and refused to obey any orders of a provincial officer, however high in rank. This created wranglings and insubordination among the inferior officers, who took sides. The Governor of Maryland was tardy in giving any decisive orders to Dagworthy, because the fort was in that province, and he seemed willing to consider it under his command. Governor Dinwiddie argued that it was a King's fort, built by an order sent to him from the King, chiefly by forces in the King's pay, and that it could in no sense be regarded as subject to the authority of Maryland. And, moreover, as Captain Dagworthy had commuted his half pay for a specific sum of money, his commission had thereby become obsolete, and there was no propriety in his pretending to act under it; and it was an absurdity for a captain with 30 men, who in reality had no other commission than that from the Governor of Maryland, to claim precedence of the commander in chief of all the Virginia forces. Colonel Washington made a forcible remonstrance to the governor and council at Williamsburg and insisted on a speedy arrangement that should put an end to the difficulty. To effect this purpose Governor Dinwiddie sent an express to General Shirley, commander of his Majesty's forces in North America, stating the particulars of the case and requesting from him brevet commissions for Colonel Washington and the field officers under him; proposing, at the same time, that these commissions should only imply rank, without giving any claim to pay from the King.

of them too poor to slaughter. We are at a loss how to act, for want of the mutiny bill; and should be obliged to your Honour, if you will have fifty or a hundred printed, and sent by the bearer. There is a clause in that bill, which if you are not kind enough to obviate it, will prevent entirely the good intention of it: i. e., delaying the execution of sentences, until your Honour shall be made acquainted with the proceedings of the court. *This,* at times when there is the greatest occasion for examples, will be morally impossible (I mean, while we are on our march; perhaps near the Ohio,) when none but strong parties can pass with safety: at all times it must be attended with great expense, trouble and inconveniency. This I represented to Colonel Corbin, and some other gentlemen of the Council, when I was down; who said that that objection to the Bill would be removed, by your Honour's giving blank warrants, to be filled up as occasion should require. This would effectually remedy all those evils, and put things in their proper channel.

We suffer greatly for want of kettles: those sent from below being tin, are of short duration. We shall also, in a little time, suffer as much for the want of clothing; none can be got in these parts; those which Major Carlyle and Dalton contracted to furnish, we are disappointed off. Shoes and stockings we have, and get more if wanted, but nothing else. I should be glad your Honor would direct what is to be done in these cases; and that you would be kind enough to desire the treasurer to send some part of the money in gold and silver: were this done, we might often get necessaries for the regiment in Maryland, or Pennsylvania, when they cannot be had here. But with our money it is impossible; our paper not passing there.

The recruiting service goes on extremely slow. Yesterday being a day appointed for rendezvousing at this place, there

came in ten officers with twenty men only. If I had any other than paper money, and you approved of it; I would send to Pennsylvania and the borders of Carolina: I am confident, men might be had there. Your Honor never having given any particular directions about the provisions; I should be glad to know, whether you would have more laid in than what will serve for twelve hundred men; that I may give orders accordingly.

As I cannot now conceive, that any great danger can be apprehended at Fort Cumberland this winter; I am sensible, that my constant attendance there, cannot be so serviceable as riding from place to place, making the proper dispositions, and seeing that all our necessaries are forwarded up with despatch. I therefore think it advisable to inform your Honour of it, hoping that it will correspond with your own opinion.

I forgot to mention when I was down, that Mr. Livingston,[53] the Fort Major, was appointed adjutant to our regiment: I knew of none else whose long servitude in a military way, had qualified better for the office; he was appointed the 17th of September.

Captain Mercer's pay as aid-de-camp seems yet doubtful; I should be glad if your Honour would fix it; so is Captain Stewart's.[54] If Captain Stewart's is encreased, I suppose all the officers belonging to the light-horse will expect to have theirs augmented also. Colonel Stephens, in a late letter, discovered an inclination to go to the Creek and Cherokee Indians this winter. I told him where to apply, if he had any such thoughts. I believe, on so useful a business, he might be spared until the spring. If your Honor think proper to order the act of Assembly for apprehending deserters, and against harbouring them, to be published every Sunday in each parish church, until the

[53] James Livingston.
[54] Capt. Robert Stewart.

people were made acquainted with the law, it would have a very good effect. The commonalty in general err more through ignorance than design. Few of them are acquainted that such a law exists: and there is no other certain way of bringing it to their knowledge. There are a great many of the men that did once belong to our companies, deserted from the regiments into which they were draughted, that would now gladly return, if they could be sure of indemnity. If your Honor would be kind enough to intimate *this* to General Shirley, or the colonels of those regiments, it would be of service to us: without leave, we dare not receive them. I am, &c.

To LIEUTENANT GEORGE FRAZIER

Alexandria, December 5, 1755.

As a quantity of Salt is wanted at Fort Cumberland for curing the provisions, you must endeavour to purchase it upon the best terms you can; and I shall fulfil any contract you may enter into. What I have engaged here has been at 2/ per bushel. You may procure six or eight hundred bushels at that rate, and see that they are forwarded to Winchester as expeditiously as possible: in order to do this, you must hire and impress Waggons; those Horses which were send round from Williamsburgh, are also to go up; and a Military Chest which Mr. Allen[55] made for me, is to receive the first conveyance. You are to remain in Fredericksburgh and Falmouth, seeing these things done, until further Orders.

All the Recruits which now are, and shall arrive at Fredericksburgh, between this and the 25th. Instant, must immediately proceed to the Rendezvous at Winchester.

N. B. Enquire of Mr. Dick and other Merchants, whether Commissary Walker has engaged Salt of them: if he has, you have then only to forward it up.

[55] James Allen

*To RICHARD WASHINGTON

December 6, 1755.

Sir: Inclos'd is a Bill of Lading for three H'hds Tobo. Ship'd on Board the [56] Captn. Merrie for London which please to make the most of.

I ought first Sir, to have apologiz'd for the abrub't manner in which I begin this corrispondance but I hope to obtain an excuse when I say I was induc'd to this by the good opinion I have conceiv'd of your merit from the reports of Colo. Fairfax and others who are happier than I, in being of your acquaintance. If you approve of my Beginning I shall have it in my power to Ship a larger quantity of Tobo., and shall Consign them to you. These three were only put on board to oblige Merrie who labour'd under some difficulty in getting a Load.

I have a Ball'e. of £6-18-1 in the hands of Mr. Anthony Bacon;[57] please to call upon him for it, he is advis'd thereof. Inclos'd is an Invoice of Sundries which I entreat you to buy and send me by the first Ship in the Spring either to the head of Potomack or Rappahannock; the cost of these things will amount to more than the Tobo. &c. for which Reason I shall take the earliest oppertunity of remitting you a Bill of Exchange. I have left many of the Articles with blank prices leaving it discretionary in you to fix them with this only desire, that you will choose agreable to the present taste, and send things good of their kind. The Livery Suits must be made by measures taken of Men as near their size as you can judge. I shou'd be glad to cultivate the most intimate Corrispondance

[56] Left blank in the original. As the first order on London for goods, both letter and invoice merit attention. Richard Washington, the London merchant, was considered by George Washington as a relation, though the exact kinship is vague.

[57] Anthony Bacon, a London merchant. Washington purchased supplies from him later.

with you, not only for names-sake but as a friend, and that endeavour in all things to approve myself worthy your regard. I am Sir, Yr. Most Obed't H'bly Serv't

*INVOICE OF SUNDRY GOODS TO BE SHIP'D FOR THE USE OF GEO. WASHINGTON AT MOUNT VERNON, POTOMAC RIVER VIRGINIA.[58]

2 Compleat Livery Suits for Servants, the Cloath* a 10s. pr. yard; Spare Cloath, and all other necessary trimmings for two Suits more.
1 Sett horse Furniture, with livery Lace, and the Washington Crest on the housing &c. The Cloath to be of the same colour and price of the Clothes
1 piece of Irish Linnen . . . . . a 7s. pr. yd.
1 piece of suitable Cambrick for Ruffles any other Ruffles that are more fashionable and not very expensive. Also 1 oth'r. ps. Ir'sh Lin'n a 5s.
2 pair Men's Silk Stockings mix'd Colour's
4 pr. Cotton Do a 12s 6 a pr.
4 pr. Thread Do 6s do
3 Gold and Scarlet Sword knots
3 Silver and blew Do
1 Blands Military Discipline[59]
1 Fashionable Gold Lac'd Hatt.

*The Servants that these Liverys are intended for, are 5 feet, 9 Inc. and 5 f. 4 In. high and proportionably made I wou'd have you choose the livery by our Arms; only, as the Field of the Arms is white. I think the

[58] This letter and invoice were first entered in the so-called "Braddock Expedition Letter Book." Washington later reentered them in the volume labeled "Invoices and Letters," where he made minor changes in phraseology, the only important one being in the two pair of men's silk stockings, which he changed from "mixed Colour's" to "marbled colour'd."

[59] Humphrey Bland's *Treatise of Military Discipline,* in which is laid down and explained the duty of the officer and soldier through the several branches of the service. The first edition seems to have been published in London in 1727. It went through nine editions up to 1762. Griffin's Catalogue, Washington Collection, in Boston Atheneum, notes that Washington orders Bland in his invoice of April, 1757. It is difficult to see the reason for a popular conception that Washington studied exclusively

Cloaths had better not be quite so but nearly likely the inclos'd. The Trimmings and Facings of Scarlet and a Scarlet Waistcoat, the Cloath of w'ch to be 12s 6 pr. yd. If livery Lace is not quite disus'd, I shou'd be glad to have these cloaths laced. I like that fashion best; and two Silver lac'd hats for the above Livery's.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Alexandria, December 8, 1755.

You are hereby required to take charge of the Recruits sent to Winchester by Captain Gist; whose Son you must Order to proceed immediately and join his Father.[60]

Captain Gist this day received one hundred pounds to recruit with; and the same Orders that were given to the other Officers on the 3d. instant. &c.

To DOCTOR JAMES CRAIK

Alexandria, December 16, 1755.

So soon as the Vessel with the Stores and medicines arrives, you are to embrace the first opportunity that offers, of conveying up your Chest, and proceeding, yourself, to Winchester. You are to provide yourself here, with what you think will be wanting for the Hospital, and bring them up with you; taking care to purchase no more than is absolutely necessary, for the support and relief of the Regiment.

Thomas Simes's work on military science. He did not apparently obtain a copy of Simes, which was published in 1777, until 1778. There are a number of books on military science listed by Griffin as having been in Washington's possession, and among those published early enough to have been used by Washington before the Revolutionary War may be noted such words as Bland's, Clairac's *Field Engineer* (Dublin: 1758), Saxe's *Plan for Remodelling the French Army* (London: 1753), Lebold's *Engineer* (London: 1759), Starrat's *Doctrine of Projectiles* (Dublin: 1753), and the various works published by Muller before 1770.

[60] Capt. Christopher Gist, who commanded a company of rangers. His two sons. Nathaniel and Thomas, were both in the service.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 20, 1755.

Parole Albemarle.

A Return to be given in immediately of the Recruits now in this town, by the several Officers who enlisted them; mentioning their height, age, trade, &c. The Officers to see that the Sergeants who understand the manual Exercise, do drill the Recruits, at least twice a-day.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 22, 1755.

Parole Boston.

A Return is to be made every morning to Colonel Washington of the number of men in this town; and all contingences.

During his stay here, no provision is to be delivered out, but by a *written* order from him or the aid de camp. The Commissary is to send up the Cask of Tools by the first Waggon that goes to the Fort. The following men being judged unfit for Duty, on Review; are ordered to be discharged: Viz.

Francis Harlowin.	Enlisted by Ensign Fleming
William Cross	" " " "
William Passwater	" " " "
Patrick Connelly	" " Lieutenant Brokenbrough
Henry Banks	" " Captain McKenzie
John Hanks, an old Soldier.	

The Commissary is to allow each of them eight days provision to carry them home.

All the Recruits now in town, who have not received Clothes and Arms; are to have them delivered to them to-day. The Officers and Commissary to be very exact; and see that none of them receive twice. The Commissary to see that the

Store-Houses are immediately repaired and secured: he is also to give in a return of the Arms which have been delivered to George Wright to repair.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 23, 1755.

Parole Chichester.

The soldiers who received their discharge yesterday, are to attend at the Head-Quarters at 2 O'clock; and they will receive some money to bear their expences home.

They are not to be allowed to take their Regimentals with them; but, if they are very naked, may take their Blankets.

Although there were express orders given for Returns being made regularly every morning, none have yet been given in. If it is neglected again, the Officer, whose duty it is to collect and make them, will be put under an Arrest.

ORDERS

December 25, 1755.

It is Colonel Washington's Orders, that all the Recruits now in this town, except those belonging to the Troop of Light Horse, be under the Command of Captain Bell; and that Ensign Thompson act as his Subaltern, until further Orders. The Commanding Officers of Companies to give in an exact return to the Commissary to-morrow morning, at 9 O'Clock, of their men, signed by themselves.

The Recruits, belonging to the Troop of Light Horse, to be in Town to-morrow morning, by nine o'clock, and to be drawn up with those under the Command of Captain Bell, and have the Articles of War read to them. The Commissary is to deliver out, at ten o'clock to-morrow, three days provision to all the Recruits, agreeable to the returns which he shall receive, signed by the Officers.

As two of the Deserters, mentioned in the morning Orders, are brought in by some country people; those Orders are Countermanded. Any Soldier who shall desert, though he return again, shall be hanged without Mercy.

No Soldier upon any pretence whatsoever, is to go more than a mile, (without leave) from the Town. Any Soldier taken, beyond that distance, will be treated as a Deserter. All Orders relating to the men, are constantly to be read to them by an Officer of the Company. The Roll of each Company to be called by a Commissioned Officer, morning, noon and night; and a Return of the absent or disorderly to be given in to the Commanding Officer of the Regiment.

To MAJOR ANDREW LEWIS

Winchester, December 27, 1755.

In pursuance of Commands from the Governor to me, you are hereby ordered to proceed to Augusta, and there to take upon you the command of Captain Hogg's Company; three Companies of Rangers, and such Cherokee Indians as you shall find there; and march them to such place or places, and obey such order or orders, as the Governor shall direct.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Winchester, December 27, 1755.

I wrote you fully the 28th. ultimo; since when I have only received two returns; one of the twenty-sixth, the other of the twenty-ninth of November; by which I find you still want men to complete your Company. The present allowance for Recruiting is two Pistoles per man, and eight pence per day

subsistance, from the time of their attestation, until they are received at Quarters; and no men are allowed for, but those who shall be actually reviewed and passed.

Lieutenant McNeil[61] received two hundred pounds from the Commissary to pay for your Provisions &c. which I expect will be very punctually accounted for. As to your mens complaints about the stoppages &c. they are groundless and unnecessary; it is the custom of the army; and what the Soldiers here submit to with chearfulness.

I think it will be advisable to detain both Mulatto's and negroes in your Company; and employ them as Pioneers or Hatchet-men.

You will receive by this conveyance the late Act of Assembly against Mutiny and Desertion; and you are to have the Deserters punished accordingly.

Major Lewis, who is ordered there to take upon him the command of three Companies of Rangers, which are to be joined by your Company and the Cherokee Indians, for certain purposes; will give you his advice and assistance in this affair.

I never received any Letter even mentioning of John Johnston, but that of the 29th. of November, speaking of him among other Deserters.

By Major Lewis you will receive an hundred and fifty-seven pounds, thirteen and three pence, pay for your Company for the months of December and January. And he will also settle with them and pay off their arrears. The money that he brings will be more than sufficient for two months pay; so that you are to keep regular pay-rolls, and transmit to me or the pay-master, regular accompts. of your disbursements, signed by yourself

[61] Lieut. John McNeill.

and Officers, and Receipts from each non-commissioned Officer and Soldier for their months pay. Another receipt you are always to keep yourself, regularly entered into a Book for that purpose.

You must also transmit to the Commissary an accompt. of money expended for Provisions, &c. signed as above. These Directions I received from below. The Governor complains of your laying in provisions for twenty months, instead of the twelve, which I ordered; and takes notice of an extraordinary charge of ten pounds, for a Trough, which amazes me: the like sure was never heard of.

If the Carpenters are kept closely to their work, you may allow them one Shilling per day, besides their soldiers pay; but you are to be cautious how they are employed; and not throw away the Countrys money idly: neither are they to receive extraordinary pay for any work, which shall be deemed soldiers duty. As to Smiths work, you can not have a great deal to do; therefore agree upon the most reasonable terms. If you have not got the Tools from Fredericksburgh, you must try to get them made in Augusta; or purchase from the Country people, if they are to be had.

You will let Ensign Fleming know that Captain Bell will be with him in a few days to settle his accompt. for Recruiting; when that is done, he will receive the arrears of his pay.

I am sorry to find Mr. Chew still dissatisfied for his Servant; and did not expect such Behaviour from an Officer. I hope therefore you will make him immediate restitution, or expect to answer it in a more disagreeable way. I am, &c.

P. S. I have sent you General Recruiting Instructions, which you are to observe, when you want men to complete your Company.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

Parole Hampton.

The Recruiting Officers now in town are to make out their Accompts. and deliver them to-morrow at ten o'clock. They are to charge two Pistoles for each man received at the place of Rendezvous; and eight-pence per day for their maintenance: no other charges will be allowed. Three Recruits that Ensign Smith reviewed and passed this day, are to be furnished with Clothes, Arms, &c.

A Court of Enquiry to sit immediately to examine whether Abraham Dale, recruited by Ensign Dekeyzer, be duly enlisted. Captain Stewart, President. The Officers to give in an accompt. to-morrow at ten of the clock, of the arrears due themselves and men *now* effective.

John Campbell of Captain Gist's Company, is released from confinement; having received a sufficient reprimand for his disorderly behaviour.

Mr. Nathaniel Gist is appointed Lieutenant, and William Crawford, Ensign, in a Company of Scouts commanded by Captain Christopher Gist.

N. B. It was the unanimous judgment of the Court of Enquiry, that Dale is duly enlisted.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

Sir: Captain John Mercer only returned last night from Williamsburg; and brings no satisfactory answers to any thing I question'd the Governor upon. The express that was sent to Genl. Shirley, is returned without seeing him: however, the

Governor writes that he expects answers to his Letters by Colo. Hunter,[62] who is now at New York, and waits the arrival of the Genl. at that place. The Governor is very strongly of opinion that Captn. Dagworthy[63] has no right to contend the Command; and in his Letter he says, after mentioning the return of the express, and his expectancy of satisfactory Letters, "but I am of opinion you might have obviated the inconsistent dispute with Captn. Dagworthy, by asking him if he did not command a Provin'l Company and by virtue of Gov. Sharpe's Comn. as that he had formerly from his Majesty *now* ceases, as he is not on the half-pay list; if so, the method you are to take is very obvious, as your Commission from me is greater than what he has," and in Williamsburg when I was down there, both he and Colo. Fitzhugh told me, that Dagworthy cou'd have no more pretensions to Command me or either of the Field Officers of the Virg'n Regt. than we have to Com'd Genl. Shirley; and further gave it as their opinions, that as Dagworthy's was only a botched up Comn. at best; and as he commanded a Provincial Company and by virtue of a Governor's Comn. that he ought to be arrested for his presumption, they say, allow'g his Comn. from the King to be valid; yet as he is not there by order of his Majesty; that he can have no better pretension's than a visiting half pay Officer who transiently passes thro' the Camp, to assume the Com'd. I wish you would sound him on this h'd, and hear how he will answer these things, and let me know when you come down, which I desire may be immediately; as I want much to consult you upon several accounts. The Paymaster, and Commissary if he is not very much engag'd must accompany you, desire both to have their accts. settled and brought with them, as that is

[62] Col. John Hunter.

[63] Capt. John Dagworthy, of a Maryland independent company. His commission was from the King of Great Britain, like those of officers in the regular British Army. The claim was that such a commission was superior to any granted by a Colonial governor.

necessary before I can give more money. Also desire all the Officer's who have received money for Recruit'g to make up their accts. immediately and charge for no more Men than have actually been received at the several Rendezvous, allowance will be made for no others; the Arrears of Pay for these Officers and Soldiers who have not rec'd for the Months of Jany. and Feby. are im'y to be made out and sent down by you with the Rec'g accts.; desire them to charge for no Men but what are present, as I can pay for no others now.

I have sent you one of the Mutiny Bills which I rec'd from below; but I think indeed I believe it is absolutely necessary as we still want the power, to postpone tryal until after your return. Order Com'y Walker to see that there is particular care taken of all the Bags and to send them down if more Salt is wanted. Also order him to call upon Mr. McLean to render an acct. of the disbursements of Sundry sums of money to the amount of 70 £s, [I] let him have since the 17th. of Sept. last and bring that down with him.

Inclos'd is a Commission for Captn. Waggener which I have neglected giving before; so long as I have had it desire him as the comm'd will upon your leaving the place, devolve upon him to be very circumspect in his duty; and to see that the Troops are duly drawn out and train'd to their exercise and practis'd to bush fighting. As I expect in a very few days to have the pleasure of seeing you, I shall only add that I am, &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

You are hereby ordered to repair to your Company with all possible dispatch. I have found it impracticable to procure Clothes for your men. I think none so proper for Rangers as Matchcoats; therefore would advise you to procure them.

Those who have not received Clothing; for the future will have their full pay, without stoppages; and those already made, will be repaid to them. Those who have been clothed, must either return them, or allow stoppages.

I would have you consult your men, and fall upon some method to supply them immediately. I would have all your accompts. with your men fairly stated against I come up: and always when you make payment hereafter, take receipts from each man; one of which you are to have entered in a Book kept for that purpose, for your own use: the other on a sheet of paper, and transmitted to me monthly.

You will receive a Bill against Mutiny and Desertion, which you must have often read to the men. And further assure them that if any Soldier deserts, although he return *himself,* he shall be hanged.

To CAPTAIN JOHN ASHBY

Winchester, December 28, 1755.

I am very much surprized to hear the great irregularities which were allowed of in your Camp. The Rum, although sold by Joseph Coombs, I am credibly informed, is your property. There are continual complaints to me of the misbehaviour of your Wife; who I am told sows sedition among the men, and is chief of every mutiny. If she is not immediately sent from the Camp, or I hear any more complaints of such irregular Behaviour upon my arrival there; I shall take care to drive her out myself, and suspend you.

It is impossible to get clothing here for your men. I think none so proper for Rangers as Match-coats; therefore would advise you to procure them. Those who have not receive clothing, for the future will receive their full pay without stoppages; and those already made, will be repaid them.

Those who have been clothed must either return them or allow stoppages. I would have you consult your men, and fall upon some method to supply them immediately. I have heard very great complaints about the mens pay; and that it has been misapplied: to prevent any for the future I Order, that you have your accompts. with the men properly stated against I come up. And always after you make payments hereafter, to take two receipts from each man: one of which you are to have entered in a Book kept for that purpose, for your own use; the other must be taken upon a sheet of paper, and transmitted to me monthly.

I have sent you one of the mutiny Bills which you are (as far as it relates to the men) to have frequently read to them. Further; acquaint them, that if any Soldier deserts, altho' he return himself, he shall be hanged.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 30, 1755.

Parole Kendal.

The Commissary is immediately to engage eight Waggons to be sent to the Quarter-master at Alexandria, to bring Stores, &c. from that place: and he is to make a Report, as soon as he has engaged that number. A Sergeant and six men to pile up the Cannon Ball that lie scattered before the Magazine; and the Sentry there is to have Orders, not to let them be thrown about again.

AFTER ORDERS

Whereas there have been some mistakes about settling the arrears of the mens pay for the months of December, January and February last: It is Colonel Washington's Orders that the Officers who were employed in the Recruiting Service at that

time, and had the men under their own command until the Draughts were made in March last, do make off from the Paymaster Books, an exact account of the arrears due the men enlisted by them, who are now effective: they then will receive the amount; and each Officer must settle with his own Recruits, and pay them off; making stoppages of his just accompts., and take each mans receipt for the full arrears due him: which receipt must afterwards be produced to Colonel Washington. The Subaltern Officers who received money from their Captains for Recruiting must account with them for it as each Captain has given his receipt for the full sum received, for Recruiting. Three Subalterns who received money from Colonel Washington, must account with him.

ORDERS

Winchester, December 31, 1755.

Parole Limrick.

As there has issued Orders several times for every Officer to provide himself with a proper Regimental Dress (which dress is also particularly described:) Colonel Washington is a good deal surprized to find that some Officers are yet unprovided; and declares, that if they do not immediately procure them, or such thereof as can be had; it will be looked upon as disobedience of Orders, and will be tried accordingly.

There are more persons returned as Sergeants than are necessary for the number of Recruits in Town. Therefore a Return must immediately be given in of the names who call themselves so; that a proper choice may be made to do the Duty of Sergeants: the rest are to act as private Centinels, until further Orders.

To CAPTAIN CHRISTOPHER GIST

Winchester, December 31, 1755.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed to those public Places where you have the greatest probablity of success; and continue Recruiting until the first day of March; at which time it is expected you will repair to this place.

You are, with some trusty person, to send your Recruits here, so soon as you raise a squad of five or ten men; and the person with whom you entrust them, is to take a receipt from the Officer, who will be appointed here to receive them, for the number delivered, specifying their names, &c. * * *[64]

You may dispose of your Subalterns or seems best to you for the Service; giving them the same Orders you receive.

ORDERS

Winchester, Saturday, January 3, 1756.

Parole Ostend.

The Guard is to be regularly relieved every morning at ten o'clock.

The Drummer must observe to beat, at the appointed times, the following Beats. Revele at day-break; Troop, at ten o'clock; Retreat at sun-set; and Tattoo, at nine o'clock at night. An Officer is to see that the above Orders are duly executed.

This Tour of Duty to begin with the eldest Captain; and to continue through the rest of the Officers, according to Seniority. The Officer of the Day is to make a Report of the Guard, as soon as he is relieved.

[64] An omitted paragraph duplicates the instructions as to enlisting servants and apprentices, in Washington's letter to Joshua Lewis, December 3, *ante*.

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS[65]

Winchester, January 5, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I am sorry it has not been in my power to acknowledge the receipt of yours till now. At the time that your letter came to Winchester, I was at Williamsburg; before I got back, it was conveyed thither; and so from place to place has it been tossing almost untill this time.

There is nothing more necessary than good intelligence to frustrate a designing enemy, and nothing that requires greater pains to obtain. I shall, therefore, cheerfully come into any measures you can propose to settle a correspondence for this salutary end; and you may depend upon receiving (when the provinces are threatened) the earliest and best intelligence that I can procure.

I sympathized in a general concern to see the inactivity of your province in a time of eminent danger; but am pleased to find, that a feeling sense of wrongs has roused the spirit of your martial Assembly to vote a sum, which, with your judicious application, will turn to a general good.[66]

[65] Governor of Pennsylvania.

[66] The trouble in taxing the Pennsylvania proprietaries' lands had delayed an appropriation. Sparks goes into the matter rather fully in a footnote. When the news of Braddock's defeat reach England the proprietaries, alarmed at the progress of the enemy, or, as Doctor Franklin has said, "intimidated by the clamor raised against them for their meanness and injustice," ordered the receiver general to add £5,000 to such sums as the assembly should grant for the security of the province. When this was made known to the house, a new bill was framed, granting £60,000 for the use of the Crown, with a clause exempting the proprietary estates from the tax. (See *Votes and Proceedings, Pennsylvania Assembly,* November, 1755.) In May, 1755, the Pennsylvania Assembly had given £15,000 for the King's use by an order appropriating funds then within their control; £5,000 of this money was applied to victualling the King's troops in Virginia and £10,000 to procuring and transporting provisions for the Massachusetts troops engaged in the King's service. In November the grant of £60,000 was made, and a bill for establishing and disciplining a voluntary militia was drafted by Benjamin Franklin, which, as he says, passed through the house with little difficulty, as the Quakers were left at liberty. Several companies were organized, but none ever joined the Virginians in any expedition against the Indians. The money was chiefly expended in building forts on the Pennsylvania frontiers, under the superintendence of Franklin, who was commissioned for that purpose by the governor. (See Franklin's *Works,* vol. 1, p. 153.)

We took some pretty vigorous measures to collect a force upon our frontiers, upon the first alarm; which have kept us peaceable ever since: how long this may last, is uncertain. Since that force (which were Militia) are disbanded; and the Recruiting Service almost stagnated.

If you propose to levy Troops; and their destination is not a secret; I should be favoured, were I let into the scheme, that we may act conjunctly, so far as the nature of things will admit. Pray direct to me at Alexandria, to which place I design to go in about ten days from this. I am, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, Tuesday, January 6, 1756.

Parole Richmond.

Whereas it has been represented to Colonel Washington, that Ensign Dekeyser has been guilty of a breach of the twenty-third article of War; by behaving in a manner unbecoming the character of a Gentleman, and an Officer. He is ordered to appear before a Court of enquiry, which will sit to examine into the complaint to-morrow at ten of the clock. The Court to consist of nine Officers; none under the degree of a Captain; Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, President. All Evidences to attend.

ORDERS

January 7, 1756.

The Court of Enquiry upon Ensign Dekeyser's misbehaviour, are of opinion, that he is guilty of the breach of the twenty-third article of War.

ORDERS

Winchester, Thursday, January 8, 1756.

Parole Tweed.

All the Officers in town to attend Lieutenant Colonel Stephens immediately at Limon's House. As soon as the

Congress is over, three of the youngest Subalterns, and Sergeant Waters, are to go immediately in pursuit of the two Deserters, who made their escape last night; and to use their utmost endeavours to apprehend them.

Three days provision to be delivered to the Troops tomorrow, at twelve o'clock.

Lieutenant Colonel Stephen has orders to read the following suspension and admonition to all the Officers.

"Whereas the Court of Enquiry that was held yesterday in behalf of our Sovereign Lord, the King, for examining into a complaint against Leehaynsious Dekeyser, Ensign in the Virginia Regiment, for a breach of the twenty-third Article, fifteenth Section of War: Were unanimous in opinion, that he was not only guilty of the crime for which he was arrested; but had acted inconsistently with the character of a Gentleman, and scandalously for an Officer; whose character should be preserved by the nicest rules of Honour.

For these and other reasons, unnecessary to enumerate; I think it for the Honour of his Majesty's Service, and the good of the Regiment, that the said Lehaynsius Dekeyser be Suspended; and he is hereby suspended and debarred from holding any post or having any connection with the said Regiment, until the Governors pleasure be known; or until he is acquited by a general Court Martial; if he thinks proper to appeal for a further hearing.[67]

This timely warning of the Effects of misbehaviour will, I hope, be instrumental in animating the younger Officers to a laudable Emulation in the Service of their Country. Not that I apprehend any of them can be guilty of Offences of this nature: but there are many other misdemeanors that will,

[67] Dekeyser was accused of cheating at cards. The original proceedings of the court, dated Jan. 7, 1756, are in the *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress.

without due circumspection, gain upon inactive minds, and produce consequences equally disgraceful.

I would therefore, earnestly recommend, in every point of Duty; willingness to undertake; and intrepid resolution to execute.

Remember, that it is the actions, and not the Commission, that make the Officer and that there is more expected from him than the Title. Do not forget, that there ought to be a time appropriated to attain this knowledge; as well as to indulge pleasure. And as we now have no opportunities to improve from example; let us read, for this desirable end. There is Blands and other Treatises which will give the wished-for information.

I think it my duty, Gentlemen, as I have the Honour to preside over you, to give this friendly admonition; especially as I am determined, as far as my small experience in Service; my abilities, and interest of the Service, dictate; to observe the strictest discipline through the whole economy of my Behaviour. On the other hand; you may as certainly depend upon having the strictest justice administered to all: and that I shall make it the most agreeable part of my duty, to study merit, and reward the brave, and deserving. I assure you, Gentlemen, that partiality shall never bias my conduct; nor shall prejudice injure any: but throughout the whole tenor of my proceedings, I shall endeavour, as far as I am able, to reward and punish, without the least diminution."

EVENING ORDERS

Captain Stewart is to draught out of his Recruits, men enough to complete his Troop to the Establishment; the rest he is to march to town to-morrow, and deliver them over to Lieutenant Bullett; who with Ensign Thompson, is to march them and the Recruits, now in this town, to Fort Cumberland.

He is to set out on Saturday; and proceed by the following Rout: viz.

Saturday the 10th. to Jesse Pughs
Sunday the 11th. to Henry Enochs
Monday the 12th. to Friend Cox's
Tuesday the 13th. to Cressaps
Wednesday the 14th. to Fort Cumberland

This Detachment must receive to-morrow, at 12 o'clock, from the Commissary, twelve Rounds of Cartridges, and six days provision.

The Commissary is to pack up all the Arms here which want repairing; carefully in a Chest; and send them by the first opportunity to Fort Cumberland.

ORDERS

Winchester, Friday, January 9, 1756.

Parole Versailles.

The Tour of Duty, mentioned in the Orders of the third instant, it to be done only by the Captains. A general Return is to be given in at ten o'clock, of all the Troops in this Town; except those that belong to Captain Stewart. The Commissary must also give in a Return of all the Kettles he has in Store here.

All the Officers now in town, are to hold themselves in readiness to attend Lieutenant Colonel Stephen to Fort Cumberland to-morrow; except Captains Stewart, Peachy and Bell.

The Virginia Regiment is now formed into Companies; and are (without a particular Order to the contrary) to remain, and be as followeth, viz.

	Captain Peter Hogg
1st. Company	Lieutenant George Frazier
	Ensign William Fleming

	Captain George Mercer
2nd. Company	Lieutenant Thomas Bullett
	Ensign Hedgman[68]
	Captain Thomas Waggener
3d. Company	Lieutenant Walter Stewart
	Ensign Nathaniel Milner
	Captain Robert Stewart
4th. Company	Lieutenant John McNeil
	Ensign Gordon[69]
	Captain Thomas Cocke
5th. Company	Lieutenant Starke[70]
	Ensign Weedon[71]
	Captain John Savage
6th. Company	Lieutenant John Blagg
	Ensign Smith[72]
	Captain William Bronaugh
7th. Company	Lieutenant Eustace[73]
	Ensign
	Captain John Mercer
8th. Company	Lieutenant John Lowry
	Ensign
	Captain Joshua Lewis
9th. Company	Lieutenant King[74]
	Ensign Buckner[75]
	Captain Henry Woodward
10th. Company	Lieutenant Brockenbrough,[76]
	Ensign

[68] Ensign George Hedgman or Hedgeman.
[69] Ensign George Gordon.
[70] Ensign William Stark.
[71] Ensign George Weedon.
[72] Ensign Charles Smith.
[73] Lieut. Hancock (Heindrick or Hendrick) Eustace.
[74] Lieut. John King.
[75] Ensign Mordecai Buckner, who also acted as quartermaster.
[76] Lieut. Austin Brockenbrough.

11th. Company	Captain Robert Spotswood, Lieutenant Lomax,[77] Ensign Carter[78]
12th. Company	Captain Harrison[79] Lieutenant Hall[80] Ensign Thompson[81]
13th. Company	Captain Charles Lewis Lieutenant Steenbergen[82] Ensign Hubbard[83]
14th. Company	Captain William Peachy Lieutenant Williams[84] Ensign Dangerfield[85]
15th. Company	Captain David Bell Lieutenant Campbell[86] Ensign Deane[87]
16th. Company	Captain Robert McKenzie Lieutenant Baker[88] Ensign Price[89]

Each Captain is to receive his own, and his Subalterns Recruits upon his arrival at Fort Cumberland: and the Soldiers that were in the late Companies of Captains Stephen, Hogg, Polson, and Peyrounie; are to be equally divided among the promoted Lieutenants: Viz. The Captains Savage, Bronaugh, Mercer, Lewis and Woodward: who are ordered to complete their Companies, without further delay.

[77] Lieut. John Edward Lomax.
[78] Ensign Thomas Carter.
[79] Capt. Henry Harrison.
[80] Lieut. John Hall.
[81] Ensign Nathaniel Thompson.
[82] Lieut. Peter Steenbergen.
[83] Ensign Edward Hubbard.
[84] Lieut. John Williams.
[85] Ensign William Dangerfield.
[86] Lieut. John Campbell.
[87] Ensign John Deane.
[88] Lieut. James Baker.
[89] Ensign Leonard Price.

The new appointed Officers, who obtained their Commissions upon condition that they should raise their Companies: are hereby informed. That it is expected the terms will be complied with, with the greatest punctuality. And it is recommended to the Serious consideration of all the Officers, who value their appointments; to set about this Duty with the greatest alacrity and dispatch: for the terms on one side, will assurdly be observed. I have my instructions from the Governour.

The Balances of the Recruiting Accompts. are to be paid on demand, to Lieutenant Colonel Stephen. And it is again desired, that no Officer will pretend to charge for any men, but what have actually been received (as some have done at Fort Cumberland; not only contrary to their Instructions, but against a positive Order).

It is also desired; that no Article may encumber the Recruiting Accompts., but such as have relation to them. The Officers pay, and pay for Sergeants, Drummers, &c. are Charges against the pay master; of whom they will receive the money.

All Subalterns who received Recruiting money from their Captains, are to account with them for it; as the Captain is to make out a General Accompt. for me, agreeable to a form herewith sent: they being answerable for the money. And as complaint has been made, that some Subalterns have expended the money without Recruiting Men equivalent: I do hereby Order that their pay be stopped; until their Captains have full and just satisfaction made to them.

And I do also declare; that if any Officer for the future shall apply the money delivered him for public uses; such as Recruiting &c. to his private purposes; that he or they shall answer it before a General Court Martial; and may depend upon suffering to the utmost rigour of their Sentence.

The Officers who have not received are to draw upon the Paymaster for their own and Mens arrears for the months of January and February last; agreeable to the Order of the thirtieth of December: and to see that the men are duly paid while they are at Fort Cumberland. They are to take receipts from each particular man; which with a general accompt., is to be lodged with Lieutenant Colonel Stephen: and as Lieutenant Colonel Stephen has received part of most of their arrears; care must be taken that the Sums so received, are duly deducted. This Accompt. will be lodged in the paymasters hands for that purpose.

The Officers who will be Ordered out Recruiting, will receive their instructions from Lieutenant Colonel Stephen.[90]

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, January 9, 1756.

Sir: You are Ordered to proceed from this to Fort Cumberland: and to be accompanied by all the Officers now in Winchester, on your way thither. You are to Reconnoitre well the Ground about Ashby's Fort; and from thence down to the mouth of Patterson's Creek: and inform me, if you meet with a convenient situation to erect a Fort on. If you find none there; take notice of the ground, between that and Fort Cumberland, and Report accordingly as you find it. This account must be transmitted by the first opportunity. You are desired to settle such Recruiting Accompts. as have not passed my examination, and call in the balances (which you are to do, to see that the money has not been misapplied:) You are to Order

[90] From Winchester (January 9) Washington issued general instructions for the recruiting officers of the Virginia Regiment. They are practically the same as those issued Sept. 3, 1755, *ante*.

the Captains or Commanding Officers of each Company, to take the most elligible means to complete their Companies agreeable to the Orders issued this day. And you are to see that proper Officers are left to do the duty: and those who are sent out, are to receive a Copy of the enclosed Instructions.

You are, so soon as you arrive at Fort Cumberland, to detach Captain Waggener with two Subalterns, three trusty Sergeants, three Corporals, a Drummer, and sixty private men, to the South Branch, above the Trough; where they are to erect small Fortresses; and use their utmost endeavours to protect the inhabitants of those Waters. His Orders will be sent to him. When you come to the Regiment, you are to give out in Orders, that every Captain or other Officer Commanding a Company is to keep exact accompts. with, and a pay-roll for, their men; and to take two receipts from each man, for their months pay: which are to be entered regularly in separate Books kept for that purpose; one of which books is to be delivered to me after each pay-day; or to the Paymaster, if I should not be present. If any non-commissioned Officer or Soldier, after having received the Country's allowance of Clothing; should be in want of Shoes, Stockings or Shirts; he is to apply to his Captain: and if it is found that he really does stand in need of any of those things; his Captain, or Officer commanding the Company, is to draw upon the Quarter Master for them; who is to charge those things to the Captain or &c. and the Captain to the men; taking care to deduct the value next pay-day: the balance is then to be paid, and the receipt taken in full.

The Officer is not answerable to the Regiment for the value of those things, in case the men die or desert; unless it can be made appear, it is lost through his neglect, in not charging it, or stopping the value of such thing or things after it is charged.

The Quarter Master must be very careful of all the Stores, &c. committed to his care; as he will be answerable to the Regiment for their disbursements. As soon as you get up, you are to summons the Officers to appear, and to fix upon the proper persons in each Company for Sergeants; having regard to their outward appearances as well as their Moral character and Qualifications. John Sallard, and Francis Morelar.d, have my promises: and I think there are many more of the new ones, that will grace the Officers better than the old dirty ones, that were made through necessity.

You are to allow three to a Company, according to the Establishment; and when they are ascertained, they will then receive Sergeants pay. You are to transmit me an account by the first opportunity, of those Officers that are sent out. Lieutenant John Edward Lomax, with the party guarding the Stores at Connongogee, is to be Relieved.

I must recommend earnestly the strictest obedience to all those Orders; and wishing you success, I am &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

January [9], 1756.

I have ordered Lieutenant Colonel Stephen, so soon as he arrives at Fort Cumberland to detach you with two Subalterns, three trusty Sergeants, three Corporals, one Drummer, and sixty private men to the South Branch; to protect the Inhabitants of that place.

With this Detachment you are to proceed to Colonel Vanmeeters on the South Branch; and when you arrive there, you are to summon all the chief men of that place to meet you, and agree with you on the most proper place to erect a Fort, to protect the inhabitants. You must build the Fort as large as

those on Patterson's Creek, and the same model; taking care not to build any thing that you think will be expensive to the Country.

As this work is intended entirely to defend the inhabitants of the place; there is no doubt they will assist all in their power. Tools they must supply you with; for we can get them no where. So soon as this Fort is finished (if you do not receive Orders to the contrary) you are to leave one Subaltern, one Sergeant, and fifteen private men to Garrison it; and proceed about fifteen or twenty miles higher up the Branch; and there, in the most proper place which you and the Inhabitants can pitch upon, erect another Fort of the same dimensions.

You are to be very exact in paying your men, and to take two Receipts from them; one for your own satisfaction; the other to be transmitted to me, or the Paymaster in my absence, at Fort Cumberland, every pay-day. If your men want any necessaries, you are to draw upon the Quarter-Master of the Regiment. Those you deliver the men, are to be stopped from the next pay. You will not be liable to pay for any necessaries, which you deliver to any man, if he should desert, or die; unless it can be made appear it is lost by negligence.

All leisure hours are to be employed in exercising and disciplining your men; this must by no means be omitted. The Commissary will furnish you with provisions, &c.

The Roll of your Company is to be called three times every day; and every step taken to prevent desertion: but in case any of your men should desert, you are immediately to send in pursuit of them; and use the utmost of your endeavours to apprehend them. If you find that the plan of the Forts on Patterson's Creek, will be too tedious to erect (as the Bastions are of hewn logs) you are to make the whole a Stockade.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

January 9, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to remain in this town until further Orders: when you are to receive and pass receipts for all the good Recruits which are brought to town.

So soon as any Recruits come in, you are to review them; and if you find any that do not answer the instructions, you are immediately to discharge them. You are to be very particular in observing the day the Recruits are delivered here; and are to take a list of those you receive; mentioning their names, age, height, &c. and the Officers to whom they belong. The Commissary is not to deliver provisions, &c. without your order. You are to bring in all your Recruits, which you keep for the Troop, into this Town; except a Corporal and three or four men to take care of the Horses, and see that Sentries are always kept over the Magazine, and other Houses where the Stores are, in this place. You are to forward to me, at Alexandria, all Letters which may be sent here for me, and, if any Express should arrive here, you are immediately to dispatch it to me. During your stay here, you are to enlist all the able-bodied men you can for his Majesty's Service. You are to have the provisions in town inspected; and call in any two or three persons, whom you think proper to advise with, to assist you.

To ALEXANDER BOYD

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

You are, out of the public money in your hands, to pay off all the Troops of the Virginia Regiment to the first of this instant with what arrears are due both Officers and Soldiers. After doing that, if you do not receive a supply of cash from me; and shall not have sufficient in your hands to pay the

whole, this present months pay; you are, in order to keep the Soldiers quiet, only to pay them, and those of the Officers who are most in want of it. The rest will receive their pay, as soon as I can send you money. "Arrears are only to be paid those men who are now actually in the Service, which you will see by your pay-rolls: and the sums which Colonel Stephen received, are to be deducted from each man."

Sergeants will be appointed to each Company; those you are to pay full pay.

You are to make the proper stoppages from each person, according to a former Order. "The Officers are ordered to take two Receipts from each man; one of which I have ordered to be delivered you, in my absence, before you make the next payment."

Let the arrears paid the Officers and men, be kept in a separate accompt. from the ordinary payments.

ORDERS

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

Parole Williamsburgh.

Yesterdays Orders for Lieutenant Colonel Stephen's March, are countermanded, and postponed until to-morrow; when he and the Officers are to set for Fort Cumberland.

Captain Stewart is to send off Sergeant Hughes, and one or two men of the Troops, upon Troop Horses, in pursuit of John Emre and David Christian, who deserted last night.

Captain Bell is to make out Advertisements of these two Deserters; and have them dispersed, for the better apprehending of them. On the return of the Officers, who went in pursuit of David Kennedy, and Abraham Dale; the horses impressed are to be delivered to the Commissary; who is to return them to their owners; making reasonable satisfaction for the use of

the Horses. The Commissary must enquire after the Arms of the Deserters, and receive them into the Store: and by the first waggons that go to Fort Cumberland, to send half the Kettles here in Store; and about forty Blankets.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

You are to lay in at Cockes and Ashby's Forts, three months provision.

As I can not yet determine where Store and Smoke-Houses are to be built; I would have you do the best you can, until you hear from me again. You are to provide three or four months provision to be carried on horse-back. If the Flour at Conongogee, should be demanded by the Kings Commissary; you must acquaint the Governour of it, and receive his Orders before you deliver it, or enter into any contract about it: it will nevertheless be necessary to lay in some more.

You are to provide provision on the South Branch for seventy men; which will be detached there under Captain Waggeners command. So soon as you arrive at Fort Cumberland, you are to demand the Country Horses that have been delivered to the Officers, for which they passed their Receipts: no more are to be delivered them unless they oblige themselves to see them forth-coming.

You may give a Reward to any person that finds any of the Country Horses; but they are not to be allowed to sell or keep them for their own use.

No Forage is to be issued at Fort Cumberland, but to the public Horses. If you can buy any quantity of forage at a moderate price, you may lay it in, both at the Fort and this place.

The number of Tools, Saddles, nails, &c. can not be yet fixed on; so you may delay purchasing them a little.

You are to issue to the Officers at Fort Cumberland a sufficient allowance of Tallow, monthly. There are three thousand weight of Pork laid in at Job Pearsalls, which I would have you receive, and supply Cockes's Fort out of it. You are to make out as distinct an accompt. as possible, of the different Quantities and weights of the Beeves that were killed at the Fort; which with particular accompts. and general receipts from all the Coopers, Herdsmen, and Butchers; is to be transmitted to me, by the first safe hand.

Three woman are to be allowed each Company and provisions drawn for them; on condition of their behaving well, and washing for the men: Nor more women will be allowed to draw provisions.

I would advise you to be very exact in Deliveries, payments, and receipts; and in every thing to consult the good of the Service you are employed in.

Particular care is to be taken of all the Bags you receive.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Winchester, January 10, 1756.

Sir: Since writing you by Major Lewis, I have received yours; enclosing Returns of the eighth and fifteenth of December. In your letter, you speak of Johnstons[91] claim to a discharge, as mentioned in a former letter; that letter I never received; and know of no pretence he can have, unless disobedience of Orders and other villanous practises, are sufficient grounds to claim a discharge. As he deserted before the present Act of Assembly took place, I do not imagine that any very

[91] John Johnson (Johnston).

rigorous measures can be justified; therefore, in this case, I would recommend moderation. For want of being acquainted with the particulars of Sergeant McCully's[92] charge, it appears to me to be a very exorbitant one: therefore I can not give orders for payment, further than the stoppages you mention. Sergeant Wilper received twenty shillings from me to defray his Expences; if you find that insufficient, make a further allowance of what is reasonable.

I can not conceive what charge Mr. Fleming[93] can have; since he is allowed eight-pence per day, and no more, for the maintenance of his Recruits, until they are received: which was not before they arrived at your Garrison. Three of his men were discharged here; viz. Francis Harlowin, William Cross, and William Passwater: being judged unfit for Service. Captain Bell has orders to settle Ensign Flemings Recruiting Accompts.; allowing two pistoles for each man received; and eight-pence per day for their subsistance; from the time of attestation, to the day of delivery, and no more. He will be allowed his arrears of pay for the months of September and October: and then the balance, if any, must be paid to Captain Bell; who is to account with me. You must be very circumspect in employing Mr. Fleming as a Surgeon; and to see that he has no more opportunities than what are absolutely necessary, to enhance a Bill; as these accompts. will meet with strict scrutiny from the Committee. It is customary for all Soldiers while they are sick in the Hospital to have stoppages from their pay, for expence of Nurses, &c.

I find it next to an impossibility to strengthen your Garrison with a Subaltern and twenty men, as I was in hopes of doing sometime ago: so slowly do we proceed in the Recruiting

[92] Sergt. John McCully.
[93] Ensign William Fleming.

Service: but if the Service you are ordered upon, does not continue long; and you can find time to recruit twenty or twenty-five men; I will see that another Subaltern shall be added to your Company.

Lieutenant McNiel has an appointment in the Light Horse. In his room, you will receive Lieutenant Frazier; who must arrive there, before the other quits.

You are to return me a pay-roll for September, as you received that months pay from me: but for the subsequent months, you are to account with the pay-master; transmitting regular Rolls and Receipts, signed by yourself and Officers; as mentioned in my last. You are to account with Mr. Walker (Commissary) for the twenty pounds received of me; and the two hundred pounds by Lieutenant McNeil; as he is charged with those sums.

I expect the Governor, as he is providing many necessaries for Major Lewis's expedition,[94] will furnish you with Kettles. If he should not, you must endeavour to supply yourself among the Settlers; for the expence of sending them from this, is of greater value than the Kettles themselves. And indeed I can not see why your men, while they are in Garrison, may not use one Kettle as well now, as they did before; were there a certain place appointed for Cooking. I am &c.

*To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, January 13,[95] 1756.

Honble. Sir: Majr Lewis, being at Winchester when your Letter came to hand, was immediately despatched to Augusta, to take upon him the command of the Troops destined against

[94] Maj. Andrew Lewis, who went into the Cherokee country in 1756.
[95] Ford dates this letter January 14; the original is dated January 13 by Kirkpatrick.

the Shawnese Town;[96] with orders to follow such directions as he shou'd receive from you. This scheme, tho' I am apprehensive will prove abortive,[97] as we are told that those Indians are removed up the River, into the Neighbourhood of Duquisne.

I have given all necessary orders for training the Men to a proper use of their Arms, and the method of Ind'n Fighting, and hope in a little time to make them expert. And I shou'd be glad to have your honour's express Commands, either to prepare for taking the Field, or for guarding our Frontiers in the spring, because the steps for these two are very different. I have already built two Forts on Patterson's Creek, (which have engaged the chief of the Inhabitants to return to the Plantns) and have now ordered Captain Waggener with 60 Men to build and Garrison two others, (on places I have pointed out high up) on the South branch, which will be a means of securing near an 100 Miles of our Frontiers, exclusive of the Command at Fort Dinwiddie, on Jackson's River. And, indeed, without a much greater number of Men than we have a visible prospect of getting, I don't see how it is possible to think of passing the Mountains, or acting more than defensively. This seems to be the full determination of the Pensylvanians; so that there can be no hope of assistance from that quarter. If we only act defensively, I would most earnestly recommend the building of a strong Fort at some convenient place in Virginia, as that in Maryland, not to say any thing of the situation, which is extreamly bad, will ever be an Eye Sore

[96] "The Cherokees have taken up the Hatchet against the Shawanese and French, and have sent 130 of their warriors into New River, and propose to march immediately to attack and cut off the Shawanese in their towns. I design they shall be joined with three companies of rangers and Capt. Hogg's company, and I propose Colo. Stephens or Major Lewis to be commander of the party on this expedition."—*Dinwiddie to Washington,* Dec. 14, 1755. Known as the Sandy Creek Expedition.—*Ford.*

[97] Washington's idea proved correct; Major Lewis's expedition failed of results.

to this Colony, and attended with more Inconveniences than it is possible to enumerate. One Instance of this I have taken notice of, in a letter that accompanies this, and many more I could recite, were it necessary.

If we take the Field, there is not time to carry on a work of this kind, but we shou'd immediately sett about engaging Waggons, Horses, Forage, Pack Saddles, etc. And here I cannot help remarking, that I believe it will be impossible to get Waggons or horses sufficient, without the old Score is paid off; as the People are really ruined for want of their money, and complain justly of their grievances.

I represented in my last the Inconveniences of the late Act of Assembly, which obliges us first to send to your honour for a Commission to hold Genl. Courts Martial, and then to delay execution until a warrant can be had from Williamsburg, and hope you will take the same into consideration. We have several Deserters now on hd, which I have taken by vigorous measures, and that shou'd be made examples to others, as this practice is continued with greater spirit than ever.

Unless Cloathing is soon provided, the Men will be unfit for any kind of Service. And I know of no expedient to procure them, but by sendg. to the Northward, as cloath cannot be had here. I left, among other returns, an exact acct of the Cloathing at every place, when I was in Williamsburg. I shan't care to lay in Provisions for more than 1,000 Men, unless I have your honour's orders. We have put out such of the Beeves as were unfit for Slaughtering. If they survive the Winter, they may be useful in the Summer.

Ensign Polson havg. received a Commission in Colo. Gage's Regt. makes a vacancy here which, with your approbation, will be filled by Mr. Dennis McCarty, whom you once appointed a Captain. He has continued a Volunteer ever since,

and has recruited several Men into the Service, and I hope your honour will allow me the liberty, as you once promised me, of filling up the vacancies, as they happen, with the Volunteers, that serve with that expectation. We have several with us, that seem to be very deserving young Gentn. I shall observe the strictest justice in promotg. them according to their merit, and time of entering the Service. I have ordered Captn. Hog to render immediately a fair acct. to the Com[missar]y of the money sent him; he was ordered to lay in Provisions for only 12 Months. Captn. Stewart has recruited his Complement of Men. I should be glad to know whether he is to compleat his horse against the Spring and provide accoutrements.

I have been obliged to suspend Ensign Dekeyser for Misbehaviour till your pleasure is known. See the proceedings of the enquiring Court. His Character in many other respects has been infamous. I have also been obliged to threaten, in your name, the new appointed Officers with the same Fate if they are not more diligent in Recruiting the Companys, as each received his Commission upon those terms. Captn. Mercer comes down for more money and to satisfy how the £10,000 has been applied.

The Skipper of the Vessels has embezzled some of the Stores; but for want of a particular Invoice of them, we cannot ascertain the loss. He is kept in confinement until your Honor's pleasure is known. I am, &c. [V.H.S.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, January 14, 1756.

Sir: When I was down, the Committee among other things resolved, that the Maryland and Carolina Companies should not be supported with our Provisions. This resolve (I think) met with your approbation; upon which I wrote to Colonel Stephen, desiring him to acquaint Captain Dagworthy thereof,

who paid slight regard to it, saying it was in the King's garrison, and all the troops had an equal right to draw provisions with us, by his order, (as commanding officer,) and that we, after it was put there, had no Power to remove it without his leave. I should, therefore, be glad of your Honor's peremptory Orders what to do in this case, as I do not care to act without instructions, lest it should appear to proceed from pique and resentment at having the command disputed. This is one among the numberless Inconveniences of having the Fort in Maryland. Captain Dagworthy, I dare venture to affirm, is encouraged to say this by Governor Sharpe, who we know has wrote to him to keep the command. This Captain Dagworthy acquainted Colonel Stephen of himself. As I have not yet heard how General Shirley has answered your Honor's request, I fear the success, especially as it is next to an impossibility (as Governor Sharpe has been there to plead Captain Dagworthy's cause) by writing to make the General acquainted with the Nature of the Dispute. The Officers have drawn up a memorial to be presented to the General, and, that it may be properly strengthened, they humbly beg your solicitation to have us (as we have certain advices that it is in his power) put upon the Establishment. This would at once put an End to Contention, which is the Root of Evil, and destructive to the best of Operations; and turn all our Movements into a free, easy Channel.

They have urged it in the warmest manner to me, to appear personally before the General for that end, which I would at this disagreeable season, gladly do, things being thus circumstanced, if I had your permission; which I more freely ask, since I am determined to resign a commission, which you were generously pleased to offer Me, (and for which I shall always retain a grateful sense of the favor) rather than submit to the command of a person, who, I think, has not such superlative

merit to balance the inequality of rank, however he adheres to what he calls his right, and in which I know he is supported by Governor Sharpe. He says, that he has no commission from the province of Maryland, but acts by virtue of that from the King; that this was the condition of his engaging in the Maryland Service; and when he was sent up there the 1st of last October, was ordered by Governor Sharpe and Sir John St. Clair not to give up his right. To my certain knowledge his rank was disputed before General Braddock, who gave it in his favor; and he accordingly took place of every captain upon the expedition, except Captain James Mercer and Captain Rutherford, whose commissions were older than his; so that I should not by any means choose to act, as your Honor hinted in your last, lest I should be called to an account myself.[98]

I have, during my stay above[99] from the 1st[1] of December to this, disposed of all the Men and Officers, (that are not recruiting, and can be spared from the fort,) in the best Manner I can for the defence of the Inhabitants, and they will need no further orders till I could return. And the recruiting Officers are allowed till the first of March to repair to their rendezvous, which leaves at present nothing to do at the fort, but to train and discipline the Men, and prepare and salt the Provisions. For the better perfecting both these, I have left full and clear directions.

Besides, in other Respects, I think my going to the northward might be of Service, as I should thereby, so far as they thought proper to communicate, be acquainted with the plan of operations, especially the Pennsylvanians', so as to act, as much as the nature of things would admit, in concert.

[98] See Washington's letter to Lieut. Col. Adam Stephens, Dec. 28, 1775, *ante*.

[99] At Winchester.

[1] Thus in the original, which is an L. S. in the writing of John Kirkpatrick; Sparks prints it 20th.

If you think proper to comply with my request, I should be glad of any letters, as you think would enforce the Petition to the General, or any of the Governors in my way there. I am, &c. [V.H.S.]

To CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS

[Alexandria], January 27, 1756.

Dear Charles: The first of March I appointed for the general Rendezvous; as I conceived a plan of operations for the ensuing Campaign would be concerted and ordered by that time: However, yours is Hereby prolonged until the twentieth of the month; at which time, without a further prolongation, you are Ordered to repair to Winchester without fail.

I am greatly astonished at Mr. Starke's behaviour, but more surprized at the Courts opinion; who must (at least ought) to know, that if Captain Dagworthy really was Commander which by the by, is a point I have never yet agreed to) that there are certain Compliments due from Troops to their own Field Officers, which can not well be dispensed with; but more of this anon.

If you can inform particularly of these proceedings it will be agreeable, in a letter, when opportunity offers, to Alexandria.

It gave me infinite satisfaction to hear Colonel Stephen express his approbation of your conduct. Assure yourself, dear Charles, that activity and Bravery in Officers are the means to recommend them to their Country's applause; and will ever endear them to me! Your courage and abilities were always equal to my wishes: But I dreaded the pernicious effects of liquor; especially as I knew it bereft you of that prudent way of reasoning, which at other times you are master of. Such inconsistent behaviour as liquor sometimes prompts you to, may be borne by your Friends; but can not by Officers; and in a camp, where each individual should regulate his conduct for the

good of the whole, and strive to excel in all laudable Emulations. This comes from me as your Friend, not as a Superior Officer; who must, when occasion requires, condemn as well as applaud: Though in sincerity I tell you, it would grate my nature to censure a person for whom I have a real love and esteem; and one, too, who I know has a capacity to act as becomes the best of Officers.[2]

This timely admonition will not, I hope, be thought unseasonable. I am influenced by friendly motives to give this advice: and offer it as a proof of the Regard with which I am, etc.

To LIEUTENANT GEORGE FRAZIER

January 27, 1756.

Sir: You are really appointed to Captain Hoggs Company as Captain Peachy told you; and I am sorry to say, as it is disagreeable to you, that you must abide by this regulation; and repair to the Company with all convenient dispatch.

If it is absolutely necessary for you to go by Fort Cumberland; I must recommend diligence, as your presence may be wanting. As to your having Fort Duty this year, it is no other than what I expect we all shall have (I see no prospect of taking the Field:) and if I judge right, you may have as good and opportunity to reap Laurels on Jackson's River, as at any other Station on our Frontiers; along which I expect the Troops will all be posted.

Since you mention how much Captain Hogg and Son are addicted to disputation; I think it my duty to caution you against it. For if any difference arises, by which the Public Service is in the least retarded; the Offender shall certainly answer it to a General Court Martial; and undergo the utmost rigour of the Sentence.

[2] Capt. Charles Lewis, later major, was a younger brother of Col. Andrew Lewis. Captain Lewis was killed at the Battle of Point Pleasant, Oct. 10, 1774.

It is possible, Captain Hogg's Company may be marched on a certain expedition, Ordered by the Governor; should this be the case, you are to remain at the Garrison until his return; and as soon as that happens, relieve Lieutenant McNeil, and order him to join his Troop.

To COMMISSARY THOMAS WALKER

Alexandria, February 1, 1756.

Sir: As the contention about the command is risen to the disagreeable height it now is; and would probably, if not timely prevented, be attended with very bad consequences to the public: I solicited leave, which is obtained, to visit the General and represent all those matters to him and accordingly I set out on Monday next.[3]

When I saw you last, you proposed as a thing which you believed might be accomplished, to reduce the hire of Waggons by contracting with a certain number for certain prices: If this can be done, it will be very advisable; as their demands are very exorbitant at present.

Such Stores as are now lying at Winchester and are wanted at the Fort, must be got up as fast as conveniency will admit. And as Houses may be wanted for the provisions, &c. they must be built: but I must intreat, that every unnecessary expence be avoided: as it is uncertain whether the Fort will be continued at Will's Creek or not. As it is possible you may want money before my return (which can not be before the middle or last of March) you must draw upon the Secretary Mr. Kirkpatrick, who has Orders to pay.

Mr. Boyd, the Pay-master, is ordered to Alexandria; to receive money for payment of the Troops: you may desire him to receive for you.

[3] Gen. and Gov. William Shirley, at Boston, Mass.

I must earnestly recommend diligence to you in this important season; and closely attend the Duty, let it call you wheresover it will. I am etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Alexandria February 1, 1756.

Sir: If you find that a good road by Ross's Mill can be so easily cut, the sooner it is set about the better. As the Governor is still silent concerning what I represented about building a fort on Patterson's Creek, I would have you desist, at least for a while, and erect such buildings as are absolutely necessary at Fort Cumberland, and no more.

You may depend upon it I shall take proper notice of the late proceedings you speak of, but for certain reasons am obliged to postpone it. Things not yet being rightly settled for punishing deserters according to their crimes, you must go on in the old way of *whipping* stoutly.[4]

If casks are still wanted, there should be great care used to provide them in time.

Looking upon our affairs at this critical juncture to be of such importance, and having a personal acquaintance with General Shirley, which I thought might add some weight to the strength of our memorial, I solicited leave, which is obtained, to visit him in person, and accordingly set out in two days for Boston, having procured letters, &c. from the Governor, which was the result of a Council for that purpose called. You may depend upon it, I shall leave no stone unturned for this salutary end; and, I think, if reason, justice, and every other equitable right can claim attention, we deserve to be heard.

[4] Stephen had asked if he should continue the whipping punishment for desertion. The other matter was the case of a defiant officer who seemed to have been imitating Capt. John Dagworthy in questioning Washington's authority. Stephen did not mention names.

As I have taken the fatigue &c. of this tedious journey upon myself, (which I never thought of until I had left Winchester,) I hope you will conduct every thing in my absence for the interest and honor of the service. And I must exhort you in the most earnest manner to strict discipline and due exercise of arms.

You may tell Mr. Livingston from me, that, if the soldiers are not skilled in arms equal to what may reasonably be expected, that he most assuredly shall answer it at my return. And I must ingenuously tell you, that I also expect to find them expert at bush-fighting. You are to order that a particular account be taken of the provisions that are delivered to the Maryland and Carolina companies by the commissary.

The Governor seems determined to make the officers comply with the terms of getting their commissions, or forfeit them, and approves of Dekeyser's suspension,[5] and orders, that he shall not be admitted into the camp. He seems uneasy at what I own gives me much concern, *i. e.,* that gaming seems to be introduced into the camp. I am ordered to discourage it, and must desire that you will intimate the same.

I have sent Commissions for McCarty and Doctor Roy; which deliver, and have them declared in Orders.

As money may be wanted for paying the troops, and other incidental charges, order the paymaster down to Alexandria, where he may receive of Mr. Kirkpatrick the sum requisite.

I have ordered Ensign Deane with a party that was here; to relieve Lieutenant Lomax.

I think of nothing else at present worth relating: so, with once more exhorting you to strict observation of discipline, conclude, yours, &c.

[5]Lehaynsius Dekeyser was tried by court-martial on a charge of conduct "unbecoming a gentleman and an officer," in cheating at cards, and found guilty. (See Orders, January 8, *ante.*)

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, February 2, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I can but return my very hearty thanks for your kind condescension in suffering me to wait upon General Shirley, as I am very well assured it was done with the intention to favor my suit.

There is as yet an unanswerable argument against our taking the field, which I forgot to mention in my last; that is, the want of a train of artillery, and, what is full as necessary, engineers to conduct the affair, if we hope to approach Fort Duquisne. By the advices, which we have received hitherto from the northward, the Pennsylvanians are determined to act defensively. For that purpose they have posted their new raised levies upon their frontiers at different passes, and have received the additional strength and favor of a detachment or two from the regulars. I have ordered, besides the forts that are built, and now building, that a road which I had reconnoitred, and which proves nearer and better, to be immediately opened for the more easy transportation of stores, &c. from Winchester to Fort Cumberland; so there is not the least fear of the soldiers being corrupted through idleness. The commission for calling general courts-martial appears to me to be imperfect, (notwithstanding it is drawn by the attorney-general,) as it rather, by the words, appoints me, or whoever it is directed to, president of the said court, than invests a power to call one as often as occasion shall require. For which reason it is not in my power to hold a court-martial without its being first ordered by you; whereas, the commission should empower to appoint a court, of which he is to be president. But as I hope there will be little occasion for any until I come back, it may be deferred until then, when that and other things, I hope, will be properly settled. * * *

As to those fifty suits delivered Colonel Fairfax for the Rangers I have no cognizance of them; they were delivered by himself, Colonel Martin, Lord Fairfax, and the Officers of the said Rangers with the greatest irregularity; as indeed some other of the public Stores have been by their order's; such as ammunition &c. I shall take care to give your Honour previous notice of all new appointed Officers; and have sent an order to Col. Stephen, to confirm DeKeysers suspension.

I have always, so far as it was in my power, endeavoured to discourage gaming in the camp; and always shall so long as I have the honor to preside there.

I have delivered the skipper to Mr. Carlyle, who proposes, in order to save expenses to send him round by water, in the vessel that brought up the stores. The evidences in this affair will be Mr. Carlyle, Ensigns Buckner and Deane, and one of the men that is now in the vessel.[6]

I cannot help observing, that your Honor, if you have not seen the clothing lately sent up, has been imposed upon by the contractors, for they are really unfit for use; at least, will soon be so.

I have nothing particular to add, but to assure your Honour, that I shall use my utmost diligence in the prosecution of my journey and pretensions, and that I am, &c.[7]

[6] The skipper had embezzled some of the stores which his vessel had brought from Williamsburg up the Rappahannock.

[7] Colonel Washington with his aide-de-camp, Capt. George Mercer, and two servants, Thomas Bishop and John Alton, left Alexandria on his journey to Boston, February 4. He started on his return March 2. En route he passed through Philadelphia, New York, New London, Newport, and Providence, visited the Governors of Pennsylvania and New York, and spent several days in each of the principal cities.

General Shirley furnished Washington with the following decision:

"Boston, March 5, 1754.

"Governor Dinwiddie, at the instance of Colonel Washington, having referred to me concerning the right of command between him and Captain Dagworthy, and desiring that I should determine it, I do therefore give it as my opinion, that Captain Dagworthy, who now acts under a commission from the governor of Maryland, and where there are no regular troops joined, can only take rank as a provincial captain, and of course is under the command of all provincial field-officers; and, in case it should happen, that Colonel Washington and Captain Dagworthy should join at Fort Cumberland, it is my order that Colonel Washington shall take the command.

"W. Shirley."

NOTES ON JOURNEY TO BOSTON[8]

1756. Feby. 4. By cash lodged with Captn. Mercer for Exps to Boston . . . . . £117.
By Ditto with Ditto for Ditto purpose . . . 20. 15.
By Ditto with Ditto for Ditto 4. 6. 8
By Ditto with Ditto Ditto . . . . . 8.
8. By John Alton 16/By Thos Bishop 21/6 . . 1. 17. 6
By Sundry small expences at Philadelphia . . 2. 3.
By Ditto at Schoolkill 1. 1. 6
13. By Cash to the Taylor 21. 9. 0
to the Hatter . . . . 2. 14.
to the Jeweller . . . . 1. 7. 6 } Pensa. money
to the Sadlers 1. 9. 7
to the washerwoman . . 16. 11

£27. 17. 0. is in Virga. Cury. 22. 5. 7½

15. By Servants between Phila. and New York . . . . . 10.
By Thos. Bishop 21/6. By Jno. Alton 21/6 . . . . 2. 3.

15 to 18 — By Cash for my Club at Tavn. . . . 5. 1
for treatg. Ladies to ye Mm.[9] . 1. 8.
at Mrs. Baron's Rout . . . 6.
Club at Willets . . . . . 4. 2 } New York My.
Sadlers Acct. . . . . 10.
A pr. of shoes . . . . . 14.
Taylors Bill 3. 3. 7

£6. 10. 10. is in Virga. Cury. 4. 14. ½

18 to 25 — By Cash, by a pr of Slippers . . . . 16.
treatg. Ladies to ye Microcosm . . . . . 1. 4.
hiring a Person to get Horses . 8.
a mare of Mr. Pitcher . . . 25.
Ditto bot. of Lary . . . . 20. 6.
Ditto to Oliver Delancy[10] Esqr. for Captn Mercer . . 28. 12.
Mr. Robinson's Servts.[11] . . 1. 8. 6
Horse hire for C. Mercer . . 1. 7. 6
lost at Cards . . . . . 8.
Gave to Servants on ye Rd. . 10.
} New York M'y.

£80. 0. 0. is in Va. Cury. 57. 10

By cash to Mr. Malbones Servants . . . . £4. 0. 0.
to a Bowle broke . . . . . 4. } Rhode Island

£8. in Virga. Cury. 11.

[8] From Washington's "Ledger of Accounts."

[9] "To be seen at the New Exchange, that elaborate and celebrated piece of mechanism, called the Microcosm, or, the World in Miniature. Built in the form of a Roman Temple, after twenty two years close study and application by the late ingenious Mr. Henry Bridges of London. . . . It will be shewn every day from six in the morning till six at night, to any select company (not less than six) at six shillings each."—*New York Mercury*, Feb. 16, 1756. It had come from Philadelphia and had already been exhibited in Virginia.—*Ford.*

By Cash lent Captn. Mercer 19. 4

Feb. 27 to Mar. 10	By Ditto to a Man of Wars Crew		11.	3	Massachusetts.
	at Cards at the Governors	1.	2.	.6	
	crossing to Castle William[12]		11.	3	
	the Chamber Maid	1.	2.	6	
	at Cards	3.	18.	9	
	For a Hatt	12.	10.		
	Taylors Bill	95.	7.	3	
	Silver Lace	94.	17.	1	
	2 pr. of Gloves	1.	18.	1	

£211. 18. 8 is in Virga. Cury. 26. 9. 10

By Cash to John Alton 5. 9

10 to 14	By Ditto at Cards			7	
	for a pr of Silk Stockings	1.	14		
	Mr. Robinson's Servants	1.	4		
	Paper			1	

£3. 6 in Virga. Cury is 2. 7. 6

By cash to John Alton 5. 9

14 to 23	By Ditto to a Ticket to ye Assembly		7.	6	Pensa. Money
	my board at Mr. Woods	1.			
	a pr. of Gloves		2.	6	
	Stockings for Bishop	1.			
	the Barber &c.		3.	9	
	Sadler		7.	6	
	The House Maid		5.		
	Exps. at Chester		10.	6	
	Ditto fm. Phila. to Alexa.	6.	11.	6	

£10. 8. 3 in Virga. Cury. is 8. 6. 7½

By Cash to Lieut. Gladwin for a Tent and Marquee 10. 12. 6

By my Expenses pd. by Captn. Mercer to Boston &c. 65. 15. 11½

		s	*d*	
From Feby. 10 to Mar. 14	By Cash for mending a Sword	3.	9	Pensylva.
	for Ribon		2	
	Cards	1.		
	Cockades	3.		
	Breeches Buckle	1.	4	

9. 2 in Virga. Cury. is 7. 4

By sundry other payments at New York &c. amg. to 4. 12. 4[13]

[10] Oliver Delancey, later to gain fame as colonel of Delancey's Corps, a loyalist organization of the Revolution.

[11] Mr. Beverley Robinson, son of Speaker John Robinson, of the Virginia House of Burgesses. He married into the Philipse family of New York, adhered to the Crown in the Revolutionary War, and is remembered principally for his connection with Arnold's treason.

[12] While in Boston Washington lodged at Cromwell's Head Tavern on School Street.

[13] Washington reached Philadelphia, on his homeward journey, March 14; passed through Chester, Pa., probably March 21; was at Annapolis March 22; Dumfries, March 25; and Williamsburg, where he reported to Dinwiddie, March 30. He left Williamsburg for Winchester April 1 or 2.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Honble. Sir; I arrived here yesterday, and think it advisable to despatch an express (notwithstanding I hear two or three are already sent down) to inform you of the unhappy situation of affairs on this quarter. The enemy have returned in greater numbers, committed several murders not far from Winchester, and even are so daring as to attack our forts in open day, as your Honor may see by the enclosed letters and papers. Many of the inhabitants are in a miserable situation by their losses, and so apprehensive of danger, that, I believe, unless a stop is put to the depredations of the Indians, the Blue Ridge will soon become our frontier.

I find it impossible to continue on to Fort Cumberland, until a body of men can be raised, in order to do which I have advised with Lord Fairfax, and other officers of the militia, who have ordered each captain to call a private muster, and to read the exhortation enclosed (for orders are no longer regarded in this county), in hopes that this expedient may meet with the wished-for success. If it should, I shall, with such men as are ordered from Fort Cumberland to join these, scour the woods and suspected places, in all the mountains, valleys, &c. on this part of our frontiers; and doubt not but I shall fall in with the Indians and their *more* cruel associates! I hope the present emergency of affairs, assisted by such good news as the Assembly may by this time have received from England, and the Commissioners, will determine them to take vigorous measures for their own and country's safety, and no longer depend on an uncertain way of raising men for their own protection. However absurd it may appear, it is nevertheless certain, that five hundred Indians have it more in their power to annoy the

inhabitants, than ten times their number of regulars. For besides the advantageous way they have of fighting in the woods, their cunning and craft are not to be equalled, neither their activity and indefatigable sufferings. They prowl about like wolves, and, like them, do their mischief by stealth. They depend upon their dexterity in hunting and upon the cattle of the inhabitants for provisions. For which reason, I own, I do not think it unworthy the notice of the legislature to compel the inhabitants (if a general war is likely to ensue, and things to continue in this unhappy situation for any time), to live in townships, working at each other's farms by turns, and to drive their cattle into the thick settled parts of the country. Were this done, they could not be cut off by small parties, and large ones could not subsist without provisions.

It seemed to be the sentiment of the House of Burgesses when I was down, that a chain of forts should be erected upon our frontiers, for the defence of the people. This expedient, in my opinion, without an inconceivable number of men, will never answer their expectations.[14]

I doubt not but your Honor has had a particular account of Major Lewis's unsuccessful attempt to get to the Shawanese Town. It was an expedition, from the length of the march, I own, I always had little expectation of, and often expressed my uneasy apprehensions on that head. But since they are returned, with the Indians that accompanied them, I think it would be a very happy step to prevail upon the latter to proceed as far as Fort Cumberland. It is in their power to be of infinite

[14]In March the burgesses had voted to erect a chain of forts "to begin at Harry Enochs, on Great-Cape-Capon, in the county of Hampshire, and to extend to the South-Fork of Mayo River in the county of Halifax, to consist of such a number, and at such distance from each other, as shall be thought necessary and directed by the governor, or commander in chief of this colony."—*Sparks.* (See Hening's *Statutes at Large,* vol. 7, p. 18), Louis K. Koontz's *The Virginia Frontier, 1754–1763* (Baltimore: 1925) is the best account of these forts. (See note to Washington's letter to John Robinson, April 24, *post.*)

use to us; and without Indians, we shall never be able to cope with those cruel foes to our country.[15]

I would therefore beg leave to recommend in a very earnest manner, that your Honor would send an express to them immediately for this desirable end. I should have done it myself, but was uncertain whether it might prove agreeable or not. I also hope your Honour will order Major Lewis to secure his guides, as I understand he attributes all his misfortunes to their misconduct. Such offences as those should meet with adequate punishment, else we may ever be misled by designing villains. I am your Honor's, &c.

Since writing the above, Mr. Pearis,[16] who commanded a party as per enclosed list, is returned, who relates, that, upon the North River, he fell in with a small body of Indians which he engaged, and, after a dispute of half an hour, put them to flight. Monsieur Douville, commander of the party, was killed and scalped, and his instructions found about him, which I enclose. We had one man killed, and two wounded. Mr. Pearis sends the scalp by Jenkins; and I hope, although it is not an Indian's, they will meet with an adequate reward at least, as the monsieur's is of much more consequence. The whole party jointly claim the reward, no person pretending solely to assume the merit.[17]

[15] Major Lewis's party suffered greatly on this expedition. The rivers were so much swollen by the rains and melting snow that they were unable to reach the Shawanese town; and after being six weeks in the woods, having lost several canoes with provisions and ammunition, they were reduced nearly to a state of starvation and obliged to kill their horses for food. A full account of this expedition is given by L C. Draper in *Virginia Historical Register* (1852); also by Waddell in *Annals of Augusta County* (p. 81).—*Ford.*

[16] Richard Pearis, or Paris; later a captain. He seems to have been an Indian trader and frontiersman on the Holston River.

[17] At this time there was no law in Virginia fixing the rewards for scalps, and it was probably left to the discretion of the governor. Shortly afterwards, a reward of £10 was established by law for every hostile Indian taken prisoner or killed. This law was to remain in force during the war. It applied only to Indians, and not to enemies of any other description. In Maryland at one time the bounty for each Indian prisoner, or scalp, taken within the province was as high as £50. But this allowance was not

Your Honor may in some measure penetrate into the daring designs of the French by their instructions, where orders are given to *burn,* if possible, our magazine at Conococheague, a place that is in the midst of a thickly settled country.

I have ordered the party there to be made as strong as time and our present circumstances will afford, for fear they should attempt to execute the orders of Dumas.[18] I have also ordered up an officer and twenty recruits to assist Joseph Edwards, and the people on those waters.[19] The people of this town are under dreadful apprehensions of an attack, and all the roads between this and Fort Cumberland are much infested. As I apprehend you will be obliged to draft men, I hope care will be taken that none are chosen but active, resolute men,—men, who are practised to arms, and are marksmen.

I also hope that a good many more will be taken than what are requisite to complete our numbers to what the Assembly

made to soldiers in public pay. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large,* vol. 7, p. 551, and *Acts of the Maryland Assembly,* September, 1756.) For service in Indian wars, Sparks quotes from Penhallow's Indian Wars, in the *Collections of the New Hampshire Historical Society,* vol. 1, pp. 52, 105, 110, that the commissioners of the United Colonies of Massachusetts, Plymouth, and Connecticut decreed that the soldiers should have "the benefit of the captives, and all lawful plunder, and the reward of £5 per head for every fighting Indian man slain by them, over and above their stated wages." By "the benefit of the captives" is here meant the privilege of selling them into slavery, a practice which seems gradually to have been abandoned. At a later period Massachusetts and New Hampshire offered by law a bounty of £50 for each scalp, and on some occasions as high as £100.

[18] Dumas had succeeded Contrecœur in the command of Fort Duquesne. The following is a translation of the orders found on Douville, which, at least, give a favorable indication of the commandant's humanity.

"Fort Duquesne, March 23, 1756.

"The Sieur Douville, at the head of a detachment of fifty savages, is ordered to go and observe the motions of the enemy in the neighbourhood of Fort Cumberland. He will endeavor to harass their convoys, and burn their magazines at Conococheague, should this be practicable. He must use every effort to take prisoners, who may confirm what we already know of the enemy's designs. The Sieur Douville will employ all his talents, and all his credit, to prevent the savages from committing any cruelties upon those, who may fall into their hands. Honor and humanity ought, in this respect, to serve as our guide." "Dumas."

This is doubtless the same officer who commanded the French and Indians at the Monongahela, after the death of M. de Beaujeu.—*Sparks.*

[19] Great Cacapon. Edwards was between Winchester and Romney.

design to establish; as many of those we have got are really in a manner unfit for duty; and were received more through necessity than choice; and will very badly bear a re-examination. Another thing I would beg leave to recommend; and that is, that such men as are drafted, should be only taken for a time, by which means we shall get better men, and which will in all probability stay with us.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester April 7, 1756.

Dear Sir: I arrived here yesterday, and though not a little fatigued, and incessantly hurried by the afflicting news from the back inhabitants, who are hourly importuning me for assistance, which is not in my power to give. I can not omit this favourable opportunity to give some account of the gloomy aspect that things bear at present. And I am sorry to say, that unless there are speedy and vigorous measures taken by the Assembly, I fear things will still assume a more melancholy appearance! I have transmitted to the Governor sundry accounts which have arrived here since I did, which I hope he will lay before you, as I have not had time to copy them. The people in general are greatly intimidated, and so apprehensive of danger, that I really believe the blue ridge Mountains will in a little time become the Frontiers of Virginia. If the *fears* of the people do not magnify *numbers,* those of the Enemy are not inconsiderable. They have made many ineffectual attempts upon several of our Forts; destroyed Cattle, burned Plantations; and this in defiance of our *smaller* parties, while they dextrously avoid the *larger.*

Our Detachments, by what I can learn, have sought them diligently; but the cunning and vigilance of Indians in the

woods are no more to be conceived, than they are to be equalled by our people. Indians are only match for Indians; and without these, we shall ever fight upon unequal Terms.

I hope the Assembly, since they see the difficulty of getting men by enlistment, will no longer depend upon that uncertain way of raising them; but make each of the lower Counties furnish its full proportion. Many of the men which we have already got, are extreme sorry; but I did not care to discharge them, until others could be had in their stead.

I would therefore beg leave to recommend, that more should be draughted than what are necessary to complete our numbers, which may be seen by Colonel Stephens return to the Governor; and then out of the whole our Complement may be chosen of active and resolute men; such as have been practised to the use of Arms; and are what is commonly called marksmen: and in order to encourage those to go with less reluctance, I think it not amiss, that they should only serve eighteen or twenty months and then be discharged: Twenty months will produce two full campaigns; which will, I apprehend, bring matters nearly to a crisis one way or other.

However unaccountable it may appear to Gentlemen unused to the Indian method of warring; to say that five hundred Indians have more power to annoy and disturb our Inhabitants than ten times as many Regulars, it is yet literally true; for besides the advantage they have in the woods, their cunning and patience in waiting for opportunities to commit their murders, are no more to be paralleled, than their activity and indefatigable Sufferings. Their cunning is only to be equalled by that of the Fox; and, like them, they seize their prey by stealth. They will travel from pole to pole, depending upon *chance,* and their own dexterity for provision. But *here,* they have not that occasion; for the Cattle of the Inhabitants have

become their chief subsistence. For which reason, as I observed to the Governour, I do not think it unworthy the consideration of the Legislature to compel the Inhabitants, if there is a prospect of a General War or certainty that these disturbances may continue, to dwell in Townships, working at each others Farms by turns: and to drive their Cattle into the more internal parts of the Country. Were this done, they would be an overmatch for small parties of Indians; and large ones could not subsist without the assistance of their Stock, as Game is now very scarce among the Inhabitants. I hope you will be kind enough to excuse the freedom with which I have offered my opinion; and impute it to the hearty zeal I owe to, and wish to *serve* my Country. I was disappointed in my expectations of continuing on to Fort Cumberland for want of an Escort. I applied to Lord Fairfax to see if we could raise a number of the Militia; and have also ordered a party of one hundred men from Fort Cumberland to join this body; if any such are collected at Enochs's; with which I shall endeavour to scour the mountains and suspected Grounds between this and the Allegany, but I will discover their lurking places.

His Lordship thought it expedient to use exhortations with the men; for Orders are no longer regarded here. So that the success of this attempt I can not pretend to determine. This much you may be assured of, that nothing in my power shall be unattempted to repel the Enemy, and quiet the people. I am, Dear Sir, etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, April 7, 1756.

Sir: I am very much surprized to hear that the Officers with the Detachments from Fort Cumberland, are returned without meeting with the Enemy; as they were committing their

depredations and cruelties in all parts at that time, even as low as Sleepy-Creek. It is determined here by Lord Fairfax and others of the militia, that a number of them shall be raised to march out and scour the Country. They are to rendezvous here this day Sennight; and I shall march them up immediately to Enochs's; where I order that you immediately detach one hundred, or an hundred and fifty men, under proper Officers, to join me there. I desire you will Order Captain Gist when he comes, down to Connongochieg again for the Stores; to procure a sufficient number of Battoes and Canoes, to take them all up at one Trip: as it will be less fatiguing for the men, and more secure.

You must see that the party you send down have their Arms in very good order, and are well supplied with ammunition and Provision. Send down about five hundred spare flints, and some cartridge-paper. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT JOHN BLAGG

April 7, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the party under your command, with the utmost expedition to Joseph Edwards's on Great Capecapon: where you are to remain, and endeavour to procure what intelligence you can, and transmit to me from time to time. I would by no means have you go in pusuit of the Enemy, unless you are joined by such parties of the Militia, as you judge from the intelligence you may receive, may be able to drive them off. and even in that case you are not to pursue them too far from your Station, until you receive further Orders from me.

You must endeavour to keep the inhabitants of the place together, as much as possible; to keep them quiet; and afford them all the assistance you can in compliance with your Orders.

You are to endeavour to keep a communication open with Ensign Hubbard at Enochs; who must transmit what intelligence he receives of the Enemy. And if you think it of consequence, you are immediately to let me know. Above all things, I must recommend to you diligence and care to guard against any Surprize.

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

Winchester, April 8, 1756.

You are Hereby Ordered to proceed immediately to Conogochege; and are there to take upon you the Command of the Troops now stationed *there,* for defence of the Stores, &c. You are to endeavour with all possible expedition to procure a sufficient number of Batteaus and Canoes (assisted by those which are already gone up with Captain Gist) to transport all the Stores up at one Trip. You are to endeavour to get every thing in readiness to embark as soon as possible after the return of Captain Gist; whom you are to join with your party, except a Subaltern and twenty men; and escort all the Stores safely up. You are to Order down two or three Evidences to assizes at Frederick Town, on the fifth day of May next; to attend the trial of the person who it is said killed Mr. Gordon.[20] I would have Sergeant Hughes (if he can be spared from the Troop) sent as one. And you must give him Orders to apprehend all the Deserters which he may hear of in those parts before he returns.

I would recommend it to you, to guard against any Surprize from the Enemy; and endeavour as much as possible to prevent your men from desertion: and if any should desert; I desire that you may use all possible means to apprehend them.

[20] Ensign George Gordon.

To ROBERT HUNTER MORRIS

Winchester, April 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I had scarce reached Williamsburg, before an express was after me with news of the French and Indians advancing within our settlements, and doing incredible mischief to the inhabitants, which oblig'd me to postpone my business there, and hurry to their assistance with all expedition: when I came to this place I found everything in deep confusion, and the poor distressed inhabitants under a general consternation. I therefore collected such force as I cou'd immediately raise, and sent them in such parties, and to such places as t'was judged most likely to meet with the Enemy; one of which, under the command of Mr. Pearis, luckily fell in with a small body of them as they were surrounding a small fort on the No. River of Cacapehon, whom they engaged, and (after half an hour's close firing) put to flight with the loss of their commander, Mons. Douville (killed), and three or four more mortally wounded. The accident that has determined the fate of Monsieur has, I believe, dispersd his party, for I don't hear of any mischief done in this colony since, tho' we are not without numbers who are making hourly discoverys.

I have sent you a copy of the Instructions that were found about this officer, that you may see how bold and enterprising the enemy have grown, how unconfind are the ambitious designs of the French, and how much it will be in their power (if the colonys continue in their fatal lethargy) to give a final stab to liberty and property.

Nothing I more sincerely wish than a union to the colonys in this time of eminent danger, and that you may find your Assembly in a temper of mind to act consistently with their

preservation. What Maryland has or will do, I know not, but this I am certain of, that Virginia will do everything that can be expected to promote the publick good.

I went to Williamsburgh fully resolved to resign my commission, but was diswaded from it at least for a time. If the hurry of business, in which I know your Honor is genly. engaged will admit of an opportunity to murder a little time in writing to me, I should receive the favour as a mark of that esteem which I coud wish to merit, by shewing at all times, when its in my power, how much I am, Sir, &c.

P. S. A Letter this instant arriving from Williamsburg informs that our Assembly have noted £20,000 more, and that their forces shd. be increasd to 2000 men. A laudable example this, and I hope not singular one.[21]

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

April 10, 1756.

As the Inhabitants of the place seem much alarmed, and under continued apprehensions of being attacked. It is my Orders, that you keep out constant Scouting Parties of the Light Horse, &c. in order that you may receive timely notice of the approach of the Enemy; which you are immediately to communitcate to the Inhabitants. If you think you can strengthen the place where you are, by throwing up more works, you are immediately to set upon it; in order to be well prepared in case of an attack. You are to be careful not to

[21] The text is from Ford. "The enclosed letter I am desired to forward to your Excellency from Colo. Washington, and to request you to commissionate and appoint him second in command, in case these colonies shall raise a sufficient number of troops for carrying on an expedition or making a diversion to the westward this summer. As Mr. Washington is much esteemed in Virginia, and really seems a gentleman of merit, I should be exceedingly glad to learn that your Excellency is not averse to favoring his application and request."—*Governor Sharpe to Governor Shirley,* Apr. 10, 1756. The letter is in *Pennsylvania Archives,* vol. 2, p. 620.

weaken your Detachment, by sending out too large parties on the Scout; and that your men are exercised daily.

ORDERS

Winchester, April 12, 1756.

Parole Epsom.

The Officers are to examine the Arms, Ammunition, &c. of the men, immediately. They are to have all the muskets discharged by some good marksman, in order to see if they are straight; those that are not, are immediately to be carried to the Smith to put them in order. They must also examine the locks and ram-rods, and see that they are fit for Service.

They must see that all the men are complete with good Cartridges; those that are not, must receive to night at Retreat Beating; and each must have two good spare flints delivered to him at the same time. If there are not Cartridges sufficient in the Store to complete all the Men; the Sergeants to be employed immediately in making more: and an Officer must be present to see that no waste is made.

The Troops now quartered here, are to receive four days provision to-day at ten o'clock.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 16, 1756.

Honorable Sir: All my Ideal hopes, of raising a Number of Men, to scour the adjacent Mountains, have vanished into Nothing. Yesterday was the appointed Time, for a General Rendezvous of all who were willing to accompany Me, for that desirable End; and only 15 appeared: So that I find myself reduced, to the farther Necessity of waiting at this Place a few Days longer, till the Arrival of a Party, which was ordered

from Fort Cumberland, to escort Me up; the Roads being so infested that none but Hunters, who travel the Woods by Night, can pass in Safety.

I have done every Thing in my Power, to quiet the Minds of the Inhabitants, by detaching all the Men that I have any Command over, to the Places which are most exposed: there have also been large Detachments from Fort Cumberland, in pursuit of the Enemy these 10 Days Past; yet nothing I fear will prevent them from abandoning their Dwellings, and flying with the utmost Precipitation.

There have been no Murders committed since I came up; but the Express I sent up to Colo. Stephen (notwithstanding he was an excellent woodsman, and a very active Fellow) was fired upon 5 Times, at a place called the Flats, within 6 Miles of Fort Cumberland. He had several Balls thro his Coat and his Horse shot under him, yet made his Escape from them.

By a Letter from a Gent in Williamsburgh, we are informed, that the Assembly have generously given the further Sum of £20,000 and voted the augmenting our Forces to 2000 Men, which is a Number, that under good Regulations, we may have some Expectations from, if they are properly appointed; for which Purpose as I have never heard your Honour offer your Opinion, I have been free enough to project a Scheme, which is now inclosed, to have the whole 2000 formed into one Regiment, consisting of two Battalions, of ten Companies each, with five Field Officers, each of which to have a Company: and every other Company to consist of 1 Captain, 2 Lieutenants, one Ensigns; 4 Sergeants, 4 Corporals, 2 Drummers, and 87 private Men: which will save the Country the annual Sum of £500 6. 6. 8 and We be better appointed, and established more after the British Manner, than We now are, or should be, if formed into two Regiments,

or one Regiment with only 50 Men in a Company, and I humbly conceive, where We can pattern after our Mother Country, upon as easy Terms, as pursuing Plans of our own, that we shoud at least pay that Deferrence to her Judgment, and Experience. By the Scheme proposed, of forming the Regiment into two Battalions, and of encreasing the Number of Men in a Company to 87 Private, the Country will save the Pay of many commissioned, as well as Non-commissioned Officers; who are the Persons that enhance the Expence; for the whole annual Pay of the 2000 Men, including all the Staff Officers, as well as other Commissioned Officers, Sergeants, Corporals, Drummers, and private Men; amounts only to £34 145. 10. 0. whereas were they formed into two Regiments, or one Regiment, of Fifty (but that woud be quite incongruous) the Expence, woud amount to £30. 152. 6. 8. which makes the aforesaid Difference of £500 6″ 16″ 8. Then again, we do not allow our Field Officers Companies, which I believe is the only Instance that can be given, where they are not; and this makes the Difference of three Captains Pay, for the Country allows in the same Proportion.

I have been free enough to offer my opinion very candidly; and that Light I hope it will be received in. Though it may meet [not] with your Honours approbation; I had no other Motive in proposing this Scheme, than the pleasing hopes of serving my Country. If I have mistaken the Means, I am sorry for it; and beg pardon for my Presumption.

As I am convinced that no other Method can be used to raise 2000 Men, but by draughting; I hope to be excused, when I again repeat, how great Care should be observed in choosing active Marksmen; the manifest Inferiority of inactive Persons, unused to Arms, in this kind of Service, although equal in Numbers; to lively Persons who have practised Hunting, is

inconceivable. The Chance against them is more than two to one. Another thing I hope will merit the Consideration of the Assembly; and that is, that they will put all such Men as are raised for the Expedition in actual Pay, and under the same Discipline that ours are at present: otherwise I am very well convinced, their good Intentions will prove obortive, and all the Draughts quit the Service, as soon or before, they are brought into it.

I do not conceive it to be a Hardship to put even Draughts under Martial Law, if they are only taken for a certain Time; which I could wish to be the case; as I thereby hope for better Men. I am your Honor &c.

P. S. I have a brother that has long discovered an Inclination to enter the Service; but has till this been dissuaded from it by my Mother, who now, I believe, will give consent. I must, therefore, beg that if your honour should issue any new Commissions before I come down, that you will think of him and reserve a Lieutenancy. I flatter myself that he will endeavour to deserve it as well as some that have, and others that may get [them].[22] [V.H.S.]

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, April 16, 1756.

Dear Sir: When I wrote you last, I was in high hopes of being by this time at the head of a large party scouring the Allegany Hills. But the timidity of the inhabitants of this county is to be equalled by nothing but their perverseness. Yesterday was the time appointed for all to meet who were inclined to join for this desirable end, and only fifteen came,

[22] This is an L. S. in the writing of John Kirkpatrick; the postscript is in Washington's hand. Dinwiddie answered this (April 23): "I have not the least objection to your broth's being a Lieut." The appointment, however, does not seem to have been made, as Washington's brother's name does not appear on any of the surviving returns of the Virginia Regiment of subsequent date.

some of whom refused to go but upon such terms as must have rendered their services burthensome to the country. Therefore, I am again reduced to the necessity of waiting the arrival of a party from Fort Cumberland before I can leave this place. There has been no mischief done since I wrote you last, which I attribute in some measure, to the frequent parties I have ordered out in pursuit of the enemy. Yesterday I received an account which made me suspect that the Indians rendezvoused upon the back of the Warm Spring Mountain. I have, therefore, sent orders to an officer[23] who is out with a party of one hundred men, to proceed thither with the best guides he can procure, and search that mountain well; which, if the intelligence be true, I hope he will render a good account of them.

Nothing, Sir, equals the pleasure I felt at hearing of the generous supplies the Assembly have voted. But to find that the men and money which they have given are properly disposed of, and that the men are formed for the service of the country, and not to make commissions to serve individuals, I have sent the Governor a plan or scheme of which you have a copy. * * *[24]

This calculation is made for the two thousand men, to include officers; but if that is not the intention of the Assembly, the scheme still holds good, or better in proportion, and differs in this respect only: that each company is to contain one hundred men instead of eighty-seven, and to have the addition of a sergeant or two to each.

I have made bold, Sir, to offer my opinion freely; and if it meets with the approbation of your House, I should be glad glad if you would help it into execution. Otherwise, as I am

[23] Capt. John Mercer. (See Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, April 18, *post.*)

[24] The omitted portion, which is printed by Ford, is the same as that in Washington's letter to Dinwiddie of this date, with a trifle more financial detail for the evident benefit of the burgesses, who would settle the appropriation.

sensible, the Governor may be strongly importuned for commissions, he may good-naturedly grant them, without considering how manifest an injury it will be to the country and service in general. * * *[25] I am &c.

To CAPTAIN JOHN MERCER

April 17, 1756.

Sir: As the great rains have prevented your march on the expedition Ordered: you are to halt at the place where you now are, until the waters are passable: and then proceed to Enoch's Fort and no farther; and remain there until you receive further Orders from me.

You must endeavour to procure some good Woodsmen, well acquainted with the place; and honest people, to send out as Spies to the Springs and whatever you engage for to them, that is reasonable, I will pay.

The persons you engage as Spies, must set out immediately; and if they bring you any intelligence, you must transmit it immediately to me.

If you find, from any intelligence you receive, that it will be possible to fall in with the Enemy. You must detach Parties to way-lay them; and are to keep out constant Scouting Parties from the place you are posted. The Waggons must be sent back, as you will have no use for them. You must take with you the men ordered in my last; and what provision you can.

Use all methods to get intelligence of the Enemy; and endeavour to post some parties to fall in with them. You are not to delay one moment transmitting me intelligence, if you find the Enemy is at the Warm-Springs. Yours, &c.

[25] See Washington's letter to Dinwiddie, April 16, *ante*.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 18, 1756.

Honble. Sir: It gave me infinite concern to find in yours[26] by Governor Innes, that any representations should inflame the Assembly against the Virginia regiment, or give cause to suspect the morality and good behaviour of the officers. How far any of the individuals may have deserved such invidious reflections, I will not take upon me to determine, but *this* I am certain of, and can call my conscience, and what, I suppose, will still be a more demonstrable proof in the eyes of the world, my orders, to witness how much I have, both by threats and persuasive means, endeavoured to discountenance gaming, drinking, swearing, and irregularities of every other kind; while I have, on the other hand, practised every artifice to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers for the service of their country, and to encourage the soldiers in the unerring exercise of their duty. How far I have failed in this desirable end, I cannot pretend to say. But it is nevertheless a point, which does in my opinion merit some scrutiny, before it meets with a final condemnation. Yet I will not undertake to vouch for the conduct of many of the officers, as I know there are some, who have the seeds of idleness very strongly ingrafted in their natures; and I also know, that the unhappy difference about the command, which has kept me from Fort Cumberland, has consequently prevented me from *enforcing* the orders, which I never fail to *send*.

However, if I continue in the service, I shall take care to act with a little more rigor, than has hitherto been practised, since I find it so absolutely necessary.

[26] Dinwiddie had reported that "the Assembly were greatly inflamed, being told that the greatest immoralities and drunkenness have been much countenanced and proper discipline neglected."—*Ford*.

I wrote your Honor in my last how unsuccessfully we attempted to raise the militia, and that I was reduced to the necessity of waiting here the arrival of an escort from Fort Cumberland.

Should this escort arrive before Mr. Kirkpatrick does from Williamsburgh (whom I hourly expect), I must yet wait a little longer, he being left with all my accounts and papers to lay before the committee, and were I to go up without him, it would put it out of my power to settle with the recruiting officers above, in order that I might make a final settlement with the committee below. The garrison at Fort Cumberland is barely manned. The rest are out on parties; yet the Indians continue to hunt the roads, and pick up straggling persons. This your Honor may see by the enclosed from Captain John Mercer, who, being out with a scouting party of one hundred men, I have ordered to search the Warm-Spring Mountain, where, it is lately reported, that the Indians rendezvous. The commission your Honor has sent for holding courts-martial is yet insufficient, as it is copied, (I suppose, too literally) after Governor Innes's, who had no power to hold a general court-martial, or to try commissioned officers, having none either to hold a court, or in short any to try. But this may be postponed until I come down, which will be in a short time after I arrive at Fort Cumberland. I am your Honor's, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Since writing my Letter of Yesterday's date, the inclosd came to hand, by which your honr. will be informed of a very unlucky affair.[27]

[27] A skirmish with the Indians at Edwards Fort, in which Capt. John Mercer and several of his party were killed.—*Sparks.*

I immediately consulted Colo. Innis, and such Officers of my own Regiment as were at this place, on the necessary steps to be taken. They unanimously advised, that I should remain here with the 50 Recruits that are in Town, for the defence of the place, till the Militia are raisd, that we may thereby compose a Formidable body, and march out against the Enemy. This engagemt. happened within 20 Miles of Winchester; and the Sergeant, who brought the letter, assures me that they have Reason to imagine, that their numbers are greater than the Letter informs. He says that there were many French amongst them, and that the chief part of the whole were mounted on Horses; so that there is great probability that they may have a design upon this place.

I have sent an express to Lord Fairfax, with a copy of Starke's Letter,[28] and wrote to him as your honour will see by the inclosd. to raise the Militia with all expedition: but alas! that is a poor resource, a very unhappy dependence! tho' our only one at present. I have not time to add more than that I shall endeavour to do the best I can till we have assistance and that I am etc. [V.H.S.]

To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to repair to Joseph Edward's Fort, and there to take upon you the command of all those different parties that are at that place. You are to use your utmost endeavours to protect the people, and be very circumspect in your conduct; taking care to do nothing without first advising with your Officers, and receiving their Counsel. You are to be very careful that you are not decoyed into any snares of the Enemy: And if you ever detach any parties from the

[28] Starke's letter is not found in the *Washington Papers*.

Fort, be sure to cover their retreat; and, if possible, draw them between your Fires, by advancing a Body of men before your main Body; with Orders to retreat gradually between your parties, which you must have posted securely for that purpose. You must be very careful that no waste is made of the Ammunition; and that the men are not allowed to make random shot; but watch their opportunities to fire sure. You are to be careful in transmitting me constant reports of the occurences that may attend while there: and are to endeavour to keep a communication with the Detachment at Enoch's.

You are also, by any opportunities that shall offer, to send word to all such places as have men stationed; and to warn the Inhabitants to be on their Guard. You are strongly enjoined to be diligent and watchful; and use all previous measures to guard against a Surprize, either in the Fort or otherwise.

To LORD FAIRFAX[29]

Winchester, April 19, 1756.

My Lord: The inclosed is the Copy of a Letter that came to my Hands by Express this Instant, which I send, in Hopes that your Lordship will give Orders for raising not only a part of the Militia of this County, but of the adjacent ones also, and that with the utmost Expedition; otherwise, it is uncertain how far the Enemy may attempt to pursue their Victory. I have consulted Colo. Innis and the Officers of my Regiment, who are unanimous in Opinion that the Men I

[29] Thomas, the sixth Lord Fairfax, of Cameron (1693–1781), second child and eldest son of Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, and Catherine Culpeper, possessed by inheritance a large tract of land, estimated to contain 5,200,000 acres, in what was called the Northern Neck of Virginia, between the Potomac and Rappahannock Rivers. He was the only British peer resident in America during the greater part of the eighteenth century. He came to Virginia in 1735 and established himself at Greenway Court, Frederick County, a few miles from Winchester.

have here, which are only 50, should be detained till they are reinforced by the Militia for the defence of the Town, as it is more than probable that the Enemy may extend their Designs to this place.

Notwithstanding I am sensible how much your Lordship will exert yourself on this Occasion, I can't help repeating that nothing but Dispatch can answer our present Purposes; for unless I can throw some Amunition into Edwards's Fort to Night, the Remainder of our Party and the Inhabitants that are there will more than probably fall a Sacrifice to the Indians, as the Bearer, who came off with the inclosed, assures Me that the Fort was surrounded, and that an Assault was expected to-Day. I am Your Lordship's most ob'd't h'ble Serv't. [V.H.S.]

To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STARK

April 20, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, dispatched last night by Express about two o'clock this morning. There is ammunition already sent up, but I send you more now. I hope ere this, Captain Harrison is safe arrived with you. Let him know it is my Orders, that he return the Horses he took up with him, per the first safe hand that is coming down: and that he transmit me constantly what intelligence he may receive.

I can scarcely give credit to any part of the Report you transmitted to me, from Captain Ashby. If Captain Harrison can, by good woods-men, get intelligence of the number of the Enemy, and their place of Rendezvous, if near your Station. I would have them endeavour to surprize them in the night, by falling upon them at their sleeping places. Yours, &c.

To ENSIGN EDWARD HUBBARD

April 20, 1756.

Sir: You will receive by the Bearer as much powder as I think will suffice: Ball, according to your own account, you have enough of. I am informed by the Bearer, that the Inhabitants at Enochs's (where your party it garrisoned) are desirous of moving. I would therefore recommend that you may, if you can convey them, and such Stores as are in your Custody, to retreat to Edwards's. If you find this impracticable; Captain Harrison is ordered to send a Sergeant and ten men, to strengthen you, from that place. You are to take care that it is sent for that purpose. I expect in a very little time to have a number of men to relieve the Inhabitants on all the waters: But in case this should not be done; you must give to that poor distressed people, part of the provision which you have for the Garrison: and see that there is the greatest care and economy therein. I am, Sir, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, April 21, 1756.

Parole Oxford.

A Court Martial to sit immediately, to try those who were confined for being absent from their alarm-post last night. Captain Stewart, President.

I do hereby promise to any persons who engage now to go out as Volunteers, without any expectation of pay; that they shall be furnished with provision and ammunition from the public Stores, sufficient for the time they shall be upon the Scout. To draw the provision as soon as they are ready to March out.

To LORD FAIRFAX

Winchester, April 21, 1756.

My Lord: By several Expresses just arrived from the Officers and Inhabitants between this and Fort Cumberland, their situation seems most deplorable; for they have neither provision, nor a sufficient force at either place, to go out to collect any; and consequently, must run themselves into the jaws of the Enemy, or perish in their places with Hunger: and I dare believe your Lordship is sensible, that without a considerable Body of the Militia, the marching from this Town would be of the greatest ill consequence. For which reason I advise (if you have not already done it) you would send immediately to Culpeper, with Orders to raise and send such a number of men as you shall judge can be spared from thence; with such Arms, Ammunition, and provision as they can procure; for we are illy supplied with either here. I have wrote to the Commanding Officers of Prince William and Fairfax, desiring they would use their utmost endeavours in dispatching the Militia from these Counties: and beg you would renew your Orders to those Gentlemen, on that head. I am, my Lord, &c.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICERS OF PRINCE WILLIAM AND FAIRFAX

April 21, 1756.

Gentlemen: I have just now received several Expresses who bring the most shocking accounts of the distressed condition, not only of the few poor families that yet remain back of this place; but of the Rangers that Garrison the small Forts: as nothing but a large and speedy reinforcement can save them

from utter destruction! I must desire that you will not lose one moment in drawing together all the men you can provide with Arms, Ammunition, and Provision, in the best manner the *time* will admit of; and join me with all imaginable expedition. And as this is an Affair of the last importance, I hope nothing in your power will be left undone. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON

April 21, 1756.

Sir: It is out of my power at this junction to supply you with any Provision. Therefore I would have you apply to Edwards, to whom I write. Acquaint him, that whatever he expends, he shall receive a reasonable satisfaction for: and hint to him, that without his compliance the Garrison now there, must depart to this place. You are likewise Ordered (on Mr. Hubbard, at Enocks, signifying his want of assistance in aiding his retreat to your Fort) to supply him with at least fifty of your Garrison, who will Escort *that* under his command to your place, where he is Ordered. Dispatch the enclosed letter, on arrival, by Express. I am &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 22, 1756.

Honble. Sir: This encloses several letters, and the minutes of a council of war,[30] which was held upon the receipt of them. Your Honor may see to what unhappy straits the distressed inhabitants as well as I, am reduced. I am too little acquainted, Sir, with pathetic language, to attempt a description of the people's distresses, though I have a generous soul, sensible of

[30] These minutes are in the *Washington Papers*. The question was whether to march against the enemy with the small force at Winchester and Fort Edwards or to remain at Winchester. The decision was to remain.

wrongs, and swelling for redress. But what can I do? If bleeding, dying! would glut their insatiate revenge, I would be a willing offering to savage fury, and die by inches to save a people! I *see* their situation, know their danger, and participate their sufferings, without having it in my power to give them further relief, than uncertain promises. In short, I see inevitable destruction in so clear a light, that, unless vigorous measures are taken by the Assembly, and speedy assistance sent from below, the poor inhabitants that are now in forts, must unavoidably fall, while the remainder of the country are flying before the barbarous foe. In fine, the melancholy situation of the people, the little prospect of assistance, the gross and scandalous abuses cast upon the officers in general, which is reflecting upon me in particular, for suffering misconducts of such extraordinary kinds, and the distant prospects, if any, that I can see, of gaining honor and reputation in the service, are motives which cause me to lament the hour, that gave me a commission, and would induce me, at any other time than this of imminent danger, to resign without one hestitating moment, a command, which I never expect to reap either honor or benefit from; but, on the contrary, have almost an absolute certainty of incurring displeasure below, while the murder of poor innocent babes and helpless families may be laid to my account here!

The supplicating tears of the women, and moving petitions from the men, melt me into such deadly sorrow, that I solemnly declare, if I know my own mind, I could offer myself a willing sacrifice to the butchering enemy, provided that would contribute to the people's ease.

Lord Fairfax has ordered men from the adjacent counties, but when they will come, or in what numbers, I cannot pretend to determine. If I may judge from the success we have

met with here, I have but little hopes, as three days' incessant endeavours have produced but twenty men.

I have too often urged my opinion for vigorous measures, therefore I shall only add, that, besides the accounts you will receive in the letters, we are told from all parts, that the woods appear to be alive with Indians, who feast upon the fat of the land. As we have not more than a barrel or two of powder at this place, the rest being at Fort Cumberland, I could wish your Honor would send up some. I have wrote to Alexandria and Fredericksburg, desiring that two barrels may be sent from each place, but whether there is any at either, I know not. I have sent orders to Captain Harrison to be diligent on the waters where he is posted, and to use his utmost endeavours to protect the people; and, if possible, to surprise the enemy at their sleeping-places. Ashby's letter is a very extraordinary one.[31] The design of the Indians was only, in my opinion, to intimidate him into a surrender. For which reason I have wrote him word, that if they do attack him, he must defend that place to the last extremity, and when he is bereft of hope, then to lay a train to blow up the fort, and retire by night to Cumberland. A small fort, which we have at the mouth of Patterson's Creek, containing an officer and thirty men guarding stores, was attacked smartly by the French and Indians; and were as warmly received, upon which they retired. Our men at present are dispersed into such small bodies, guarding the people and public stores, that we are not able to make, or even form a body. I am your Honor's, &c.[32]

[31] Capt. John Ashby wrote from his fort (April 15) that 400 Indians had demanded the surrender of his fort; 1,500 had gone to Fort Cumberland and 2,000 to the Juniata. The letter, an extract of which is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 221, was written to Col. Henry Van Meter.

[32] The governor, on receiving this letter, immediately ordered out one-half of the militia in 10 of the upper counties. Colonel Fairfax, one of the council, wrote to Colonel Washington (April 26): "The House of Burgesses are pleased with the Governor's orders, and depend on your vigilence and success. Your endeavours in the

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[Winchester], April 22, 1756.

I do promise and engage to all good Woodsmen, &c. who will enter into the Service of their Country now, for a month or longer; if they will subject themselves to Military discipline, for the time they engage and undertake to do Soldiers Duty, and obey my Orders; That they shall receive Soldiers' pay, ammunition and Provision; and be discharged at the time agreed on.

To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON

April 23, 1756.

Sir: It has been determined here in a Council of War, that it would be most advisable for you to repair to this place; as a small party would defend Edwards's Fort.

In consequence of which you are hereby ordered to proceed (as soon as you are joined by Ensign Hubbards party) to this place: and escort such of the inhabitants as are willing to come to this place. You must acquaint the people at Homers' Fort, that you are coming down with a party; and that if they choose to come with you, you will escort them here, or to Edwards's.

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service and defence of your country must redound to your honor; therefore do not let any unavoidable interruptions sicken your mind in the attempts you may pursue. Your good health and fortune are the toast at every table. Among the Romans, such a general acclamation and public regard, shown to any of their chieftains, were always esteemed a high honor, and gratefully accepted."

Landon Carter also wrote as follows: "Virginia has been a neglected Colony by the mother country, and had there been a more active king on the throne of France, they must have made a conquest of it long ago. Should we talk of obliging men to serve the country, you are sure to hear a fellow mumble over the words 'liberty' and 'property' a thousand times. Sir, I think as you do. I have endeavoured, though not on the field, yet in the senate, as much as possible to convince the country of danger, and they know it; but like stingy creatures they are willing to wait for rains to wet the powder, and rats to eat the bow-strings of the enemy, rather than attempt to drive them from their frontiers."

These letters are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington,* vol. 1, pp. 230, 234.

If they agree to this you must detach a party to escort them to Edwards's. You are to have a Subaltern, two Sergenats, and twenty-five rank and file, at Edwards's Fort; unless the inhabitants desire to come down here. If so, you are to take them under escort: and must take care, if they insist upon leaving the Fort, to destroy it; as you must that at Homers, if the inhabitants come off. With the rest you are to proceed here, after complying with your other Orders. You must bring down the Waggons and Horses that are there; and must call at Captain Smiths, and bring down what Stores belonging to the Country, are at that place.

I would recommend it to the inhabitants if they come off, to bring their Cattle, &c. with them.

To ENSIGN EDWARD HUBBARD

April 23, 1756.

Sir: It has been determined here in a Council of War, that it would be most advisable for you to evacuate your Fort at Enocks's; destroy it, and join Captain Harrison at Edwards's, with your Party, stores, and the inhabitants. As we are not acquainted with their situation at Cox's, it was thought best that you should send the Sergeant there, a conditional Order to join you at Enocks's, or keep possession where he is (whichever he and the Inhabitants, from the situation of affairs, think most advisable;) until we can send them some assistance, which will, I hope, be very soon; as I expect to be joined by a number of men shortly.

You are to send him this Order immediately. If he retreats to your party, you must order him to destroy the Fort, ere he quits the place.

I would recommend it to the Inhabitants, to drive down their Cattle, &c. with them. Yours, etc.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 24, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Not an hour, nay scarcely a minute, passes, that does not produce fresh alarms and melancholy accounts. So that I am distracted what to do! Nor is it possible for me to give the people the necessary assistance for their defence, upon account of the small number of men we have, or is likely to be here for some time. The inhabitants are removing daily, and in a short time will leave this county as desolate as Hampshire, where scarce a family lives!

Three families were murdered the night before last, at the distance of less than twelve miles from this place; and every day we have accounts of such cruelties and barbarities, as are shocking to human nature. Nor is it possible to conceive the situation and danger of this miserable county. Such numbers of French and Indians are all around, no road is safe to travel; and *here* we know not the hour how soon we may be attacked.

But as it is not in my power to give your Honor a full account of every thing, I have sent Captain Peachey to wait upon you, who can be more ample and satisfactory in every point, that requires your Honor's notice. I have written for the militia of Fairfax, Prince William, and Culpeper, and expect them here in a few days. But how they are to be supplied with ammunition and provision, I am quite at a loss. The distance of Fort Cumberland from us, where these supplies are, renders them useless, in a manner, and puts us to the greatest straits; and the inhabitants leaving their farms, will make it impossible for the militia to subsist without provisions, which are *now* very scarce, and will be more so. I should therefore be glad your Honor would send arms, ammunition and provisions up, and give immediate orders for the Irish beef at Alexandria, which cannot be had without your consent.

Your Honor spoke of sending some Indians to our assistance, in which no time should be lost, nor means omitted to engage all the Catawbas and Cherokees, that can possibly be gathered together and immediately despatched hither. For without Indians to oppose Indians, we may expect but small success. And I should think it no bad scheme, (while the Indians remain here in such numbers,) to have a detachment sent out with some friendly Indians to make an attempt upon their towns,—though this should be executed with all imaginable secrecy.

I hear the Assembly are for augmenting the forces (in pay) to fifteen hundred, which are far too few to defend the frontiers against so numerous an enemy. But I have often wrote you my sentiments upon this and other subjects, so shall not now enlarge. I have also written to the Speaker by Captain Peachey, who will, I imagine, communicate to your Honor what demands your immediate regard.

I wish your Honor would resolve me, whether the militia that are expected here must be supplied out of the public stocks of provisions laid in for the soldiers, or if they are to find themselves? The want of due direction in matters of this nature causes great inconvenience. Give me leaves to urge your Honor's speedy care of sending men and ammunition to our assistance, else the consequences may prove very fatal in a little time.

I have been just now informed, that numbers about the neighbourhood hold councils and cabals to very dishonorable purposes, and unworthy the thoughts of a British subject. Despairing of assistance and protection from below (as they foolishly conjecture), they talk of capitulating and coming upon terms with the French and Indians, rather than lose their lives and fortunes through obstinacy. My force, at present, is very weak, and unable to take the necessary measures, with those suspected; but, as soon as the militia arrive, be

assured I will do my utmost to detect and secure such pests of society, if my information is not groundless, which I should be glad to find so.

I enclose your Honor a copy of a council of war lately held here,[33] and copies of some letters since my last to you; one of which, for Colonel Martin, was just sent to me from Fort Hopewell, on the South Branch. They have had an engagement there, with the French and Indians, the particulars of which you will see by the enclosed. Captain Waggener, with a party of his men, joined them next day, and went in pursuit of the enemy, but could not come up with them. The waters were so high, that although Captain Waggener heard them engaged, he could send them no assistance. From these and other circumstances, you may form but a faint idea of the wretched and unhappy situation of this county, nor can it be conceived.

My extreme hurry, confusion, and anxiety must plead an excuse for incorrectness, &c. I am your Honor's, &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, April 24, 1756.

Dear Sir: Yesterday I received yours by Mr. Kirkpatrick,[34] and am sorry to hear the reflections upon the conduct of the officers. I could wish that their names had been particularized, that justice might be done to the innocent and guilty! for it is extremely hard, that the whole corps should suffer the most ungenteel reproaches for the inadvertence and misconduct of a few.[35]

[33] The proceedings of this council of war, dated Apr. 23, 1756, are in the *Washington Papers*. It was determined that Enoch's Fort should be abandoned and destroyed, and all of the garrison that could be spared from Fort Edwards should march to Winchester.

[34] John Kirkpatrick, of Alexandria, who was Washington's secretary.

[35] For the orders Washington issued in a further attempt to enforce discipline, see Orders, May 1, *post*.

The deplorable situation of this people is no more to be described, than my anxiety and uneasiness for their relief. And I see in so clear a light the inevitable destruction of this county without immediate assistance, that I cannot look forward but with the most poignant sorrow.

You may expect, by the time this comes to hand, that, without a considerable reinforcement, Frederick county will not be mistress of fifteen families. They are now retreating to the securest parts in droves of fifties. In short, every thing has too melancholy an appearance for pen to communicate. I have therefore sent an officer, whose good sense and judicious observations will be a more effectual way of transmitting an account of the people's distresses.

I wish the Assembly had given two thousand men, instead of fifteen hundred, and that I had been acquainted with the dispositions they intended to make. Since I am ignorant of *this,* I hope it will not be thought presuming when I offer my sentiments upon the subject.

We are, Sir, first to consider, that if a chain of forts is to be erected upon our frontiers, it is done with a design to protect the people. Therefore, if these forts are more than fifteen and eighteen miles, or a day's march, asunder, and garrisoned with less than eighty or an hundred men each, the intention is lost, and for these reasons. 1st, if they are at greater distances, it is inconvenient for the soldiers to scout, and allows the enemy to pass between without being easily discovered, and when discovered so soon pursued. And secondly, if they are garrisoned with less than eighty or an hundred men, the number is too few to afford detachments. Then, again, our frontiers are so extensive, that, were the enemy to attack us on the one side, before the troops on the other could get to their assistance, they might overrun and destroy half the country. And it is more

than probable, if they had a design upon the first, they would make a feint upon the other. Then we are to consider what sums the building of twenty forts would cost, and the removing stores and provisions to each, and in the last place, we are to consider where and when this expense is to end. For, if we do not endeavour to remove the cause, we are liable to the same incursions seven years hence as now, if the war continues, and they are allowed to remain on Ohio.

I shall next give the reasons, which I think make for a defensive plan. If the neighbouring colonies refuse us their assistance, we have neither strength or abilities or ourselves to conduct an expedition; or, if we had, and were the whole to join us, I do not see to what purpose, since we have neither a train of artillery, artillery-men, engineers, &c, to execute any scheme beyond the mountains against a regular fortress. Again, we have not, that I can see, either stores or provisions, arms or ammunition, wagons or horses, in any degree proportioned to the service; and to undertake an affair, where we are sure to fall through, would be productive of the worst consequences, and another defeat would entirely lose us the interest of every Indian.

If, then, we cannot act offensively with a prospect of success, we must be upon the defensive; and that there is no way to protect the people, or save ourselves (but by a chain of forts, is evidently certain.

I would beg leave, in that case, to propose that there should be a strong fort erected at this place, for a general receptacle of all the stores, &c, and a place of residence for the commanding officers, to be garrisoned with one company for the security of the stores, and to serve as escorts for all wagons, that are going higher up, because it is the most public and most convenient for intelligence of any in the country, and the most convenient to

the part that will ever be attacked by *numbers,* it lying directly on the road to Fort Duquisne, from whence, and their Indian allies, who are still up higher, we have the greatest reason to apprehend danger. It also lies convenient to the inhabitants for raising the militia when occasion requires.

I have found by experience, that being just within the inhabitants is absolutely necessary to give orders for the defence of the people; and that Fort Cumberland is of no more use towards the defence of the country, than Fort George at Hampton, and know as little what is doing. For the people so soon as they are alarmed, immediately fly inwards, and at this time there is not an inhabitant living between here and Fort Cumberland, except a few settlements upon the Manor about a fort we built there, and a few families at Edward's, on Cacapehon, with a guard of ours, which makes this very town at present the outmost frontiers, and though a place trifling in itself, is yet of the utmost importance, as it commands the communication from east to west, as well as from north to south, for at this place do almost all the roads center, and secures the great roads of one half of our frontiers to the markets of the neighbouring colonies, as well as to those on Rappahannock and Potomack &c. At Fort Cumberland I would have one company garrisoned to secure the place, to procure the earliest intelligence, and to cover all detachments that may be sent towards the Ohio, which is all the use it can ever be of. In the next place, I would propose, that a good fort should be erected between this and Fort Cumberland, which shall be in a line with the chain of forts across the country, and be garrisoned with two companies. This I would advise, because, as I before observed, if we are ever attacked by a large body, it must be here, as they have no other road to our frontiers, either to transport men or necessaries.

These three forts that I have already spoken of will employ four companies, which will be a tolerable body, if the companies are large, which they would be, according to the scheme I sent you. And it would be a trifling expense to augment each company to one hundred privates, which will make two thousand, exclusive of officers, which were included in the scheme last sent.

After this is done, I would post the remaining companies equidistant, or at proper passes, along our frontiers, agreeable to the enclosed sketch, and order communications to be opened between fort and fort, and large detachments scouting between to discover the tracts of the enemy.

And now, sir, one thing to add, which requires the Assembly's attention, and that is, what vale, or upon what part of our frontiers these forts are to be built? For I am to tell you that the Great Ridge or North Mountain, so called in Evans's map, to which I refer, is now become our exterior bound, there not being one inhabitant beyond that on all the Potomack waters, except a few families on the South Branch, and at Joseph Edwards's, on Cacapehon, (which I have already mentioned,) guarded by a party of ours. So that it requires some consideration to determine whether we are to build near this to protect the present inhabitants; or on the South Branch, or Patterson's Creek, in the hopes of drawing back those, who have forsaken their dwellings,

If we do not build there, that country will ever want settlers; and if we *do,* there is so great a blank, with such a series of mountains between, that it will be next to impossible to guard the people effectually. I could again wish, that the Assembly had given two thousand men, exclusive of officers, to be formed into two battalions of ten companies each, with four field officers. Indeed, fifteen hundred men are a greater number than ever was in a regiment of only one battalion, and they should

be divided into two, with four field-officers, who should be posted so as to have the immediate care of a certain number of forts, with orders to draw from one to another, as occasion should require.[36]

I could add more on this subject, but am so hurried, that I am obliged to refer for further particulars to the bearer, who will tell you, that, to carry on all these works, a number of tools, as well as many other necessaries, will be absolutely wanting.

I have given my opinion with candor, and submit to correction with the greatest pleasure. Confusion and hurry must apologize for the incoherence and incorrectness hereof. I am, dear Sir, yours, &c.

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

April 25, 1756.

Sir: As the roads at present are so much infested, I do not think it safe to send the things you wrote for until another opportunity. I must desire that you will be very diligent, and

[36] Governor Dinwiddie had formed a project of a much more extensive chain of forts, embracing the whole line of frontier from Crown Point to the country of the Creek Indians. This project he communicated to the board of trade on February 23. A peculiar feature of this plan was, that the expenses of erecting and supporting these forts should be provided for by a land and poll tax, to be levied by an act of Parliament, which should take effect equally throughout all the Colonies. He proposed a poll tax of 1 shilling sterling for two years, which he thought would be sufficient for building the forts; and a perpetual land tax of 2 shillings on every hundred acres of land, as a fund for keeping up the garrison. "I know," he adds, "that our people will be inflamed, if they hear of my making this proposal, as they are averse to all taxes; but in my duty, and in obedience to your commands, I cannot but think it the most eligible, and it will remain as long as the land; but, if not done by an act of the British Parliament, I may venture to affirm, that no governors on this continent will be able to prevail on the Assemblies to pass laws for this purpose." By his calculation there were at least a million of taxable polls in the Colonies. Hence this tax would produce £50,000 a year. And the land tax, estimated by the quitrents paid in Virginia, he believed would yield annually £60,000. The population of Virginia he considered at this time to be 293,472, of whom 173,316 were white and 120,156 black. The militia were computed at 35,000 men fit to bear arms. The governor wrote to Mr. Fox, one of the secretaries of state: "We dare not venture to part with any of our white men any distance, as we must have a watchful eye over our negro slaves, who are upwards of one hundred thousand."—*Sparks.*

guard against a Surprize from the Enemy, as they will certainly attact you, if they find it possible to surprize you.

You are to detach Ensign Crawford with twenty men, to reconnoitre the Country towards Hites, on Opekon; and towards Bullskin, or wherever he finds these Inhabitants have retired to: He is to act rather as a reconnoitring party, than as an Offensive one. Yours &c.

To CAPTAIN HENRY HARRISON

April 26, 1756.

Sir: If you receive this before you leave Edward's, I would have you proceed with a Detachment of yours, in your way to this, by Darby McIvers, who, with his Servant, &c. is killed by the Enemy. And endeavour, if the Bearer can shew you their bodies, to have them Buried.

You must endeavour to bring off the Cattle, &c. of the Inhabitants about there if possible, if you do not hear that the Enemy are too strong in that Quarter for you to make an attempt of this kind. If you should get intelligence that they are; I would have you proceed here with your party, without regard to these Orders. Make all the dispatch you possibly can to this place; as I wait your arrival with great impatience. Yours &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, April 26, 1756.

Sir: I received your several Letters yesterday, and am very glad to hear that all our Garrisons are safe. We every day expect very strong reinforcements and as soon as they arrive, shall scour all the woods between this and Fort Cumberland: and put what is possible to spare into the Garrisons: But, until I have effected the first plan, can not possibly join you; as it would be of the worst consequence to leave the Enemy, who

have now burnt, killed, and destroyed every thing they fell in with, even as low as Opekon in the heart of this County, to proceed to that Fort. I must desire you will be very diligent; and send your Orders to the other Garrisons oft as you see occasion. Yours &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, April 27, 1756.

Dear Sir: In my last I omitted to observe one thing touching the defence of our frontiers by a chain of forts, and it is this:

If the province of Maryland makes no provision for its frontiers, we shall have a long, unguarded space quite open and defenceless from Wills Creek to the mouth of Shanandoah, where the enemy may have, and have already given proof of, free egress and regress in crossing Potowmack; plundering, burning, murdering and destroying all before them. It is matter of moment, and worthy the Assembly's notice. For we must secure that weak side, if our neighbours are so indifferent as to disregard their own safety, because of its connexion with ours. In this case the number of forts will be increased to two or three more. Another material point to be regarded by the Assembly, and of very great importance to the inhabitants, is the situation of these forts intended along the frontiers. As I mentioned to you before, that placing them on the former outmost frontier, would be of small service to defend the present frontier settlements, now so remote from the former.

For the enemy would still make incursions, and carry off their booty with impunity, without a considerable number of men posted at these forts constantly patrolling in order to interrupt them. And without such defence and protection, the people will never be induced to return again to their plantations.

Again, if the forts are built upon the present exterior settlements, the former lands will remain unsettled: nor need we

expect that the inhabitants will extend their improvements beyond these forts, while such disturbances continue.

I would again urge the necessity of a large and strong fort at this town[37] for very cogent reasons, as I hinted in my former, it being the center of all the public roads, and a place of the most importance on the frontiers. I would advise its being large, as it will be the sole refuge for the inhabitants upon any alarm, where they may be received and protected until they can return with safety to their plantations. And as it must be the magazine of stores, to supply many other forts, the country and soldiers with provisions, ammunition, &c., it ought, of consequence, to be large and pretty strong.

Had such a place of defence been here, it would have hindered some hundreds of families from moving further than this, that are now lost to the county. The women and children might have been secure, while the men would have gone in a body against the savages, whereas the number of men now left is so small, that no resistance or defence can be made to any purpose. Winchester is now the farthest boundary of this county,—no inhabitants beyond it: and if measures are not taken to maintain it, we must retire below the Blue Ridge in a very short time.

Let me therefore recommend to yours and the Assembly's particular care, that no time be lost in this salutary proposal: for should this panic and fear continue, not a soul will be left on this side the Ridge: and what now remain, are collected in small forts (out of which there is no prevailing on them to stir) and every plantation deserted.

I have exerted every power for the protection and peace of this distressed, unhappy people, and used my utmost to persuade them to continue, until assistance come, though to little

[37] The fort ordered to be built at Winchester was named Fort Loudoun. It was erected from a plan drawn by Washington, which is in the *Washington Papers,* in the Library of Congress.

effect. I have repeatedly urged Lord Fairfax to send for the militia of the adjacent counties, and have sent myself several expresses to hurry them on.

If the Assembly approve the scheme of erecting a fort here and at other places, tools of all kinds will be wanting, and must be sent up immediately, that no time may be lost. Carpenters from below should likewise be engaged; and every proper method for dispatching so desirable and so general a good, as this defence for Frederick, &c.

I have now and formerly been very full upon these Topics, which I thought most conducive to the good of the Country; and have had no other point in view but the Public interest, in all my advices, my actions, and intentions: and would chuse to avoid censure in every part of my conduct, by acting agreeable to the directions of the Assembly, the Governour, and a good conscience. So shall not for the future trouble you further on this subject. Yours etc.

To GOVERNOR DINWIDDIE

Winchester, April 27, 1756.

Sir: I sent an express to Fort Cumberland on Tuesday last, who is just returned with the enclosed letters, which I send, to prevent the trouble of extracting a part.

In my letter to Colonel Stephen, I did among other things inform him of the accusations laid to his charge, and that he must expect to have the matter inquired into. Your Honor will see what he says upon the subject.[38]

Desolation and murder still increase, and no prospects of relief. The Blue Ridge is now our frontier, no men being left

[38] Dinwiddie's answer (May 3) was characteristic: "I observe Colo. Stephen's Letters vindicating his character, and I hope the Reports were without Foundation and in course malitious."

in this county, except a few that keep close with a number of women and children in forts, which they have erected for that purpose. There are now no militia in this county; when there were, they could not be brought to action. If the inhabitants of the adjacent counties pursue the same system of disobedience, the whole must fall an inevitable sacrifice; and there is room to fear, they have caught the infection, since I have sent (besides divers letters to Lord Fairfax,) express after express to hurry them on, and yet have no tidings of their march. We have the greatest reason in life to believe, that the number of the enemy is very considerable, as they are spread all over this part of the country; and that their success, and the spoils with which they have enriched themselves, dished up with a good deal of French policy, will encourage the Indians of distant nations to fall upon our inhabitants in greater numbers, and, if possible, with greater rapidity. They enjoy the sweets of a profitable war, and will no doubt improve the success, which ever must attend their arms, without we have Indians to oppose theirs. I would therefore advise, as I often have done, that there should be neither trouble nor expense omitted to bring the few, who are still inclined, into our service, and that, too, with the greatest care and expedition. A small number, just to point out the wiles and tracks of the enemy, is better than none; for which reason I must earnestly recommend, that those, who accompanied Major Lewis, should be immediately sent up, and such of the Catawbas as can be engaged in our interest. If such another torrent as this has been, (or may be ere it is done,) should press upon our settlements, there will not be a living creature left in Frederick county; and how soon Fairfax and Prince William may share its fate is easily conceived, if we only consider a cruel and bloodthirsty enemy, conquerors already possessed of the finest part of Virginia,

plenteously filled with all kinds of provision, pursuing a people filled with fear and consternation at the inhuman murders of these barbarous savages!

I have exerted every means that I could think of, to quiet the minds of these unhappy people: but, for a man to have inclination, and not power, he may as well be without either, for the assistance he can give.

The inhabitants of the county, who are now in forts, are greatly distressed for the want of ammunition and provision, and are incessantly importuning me for both; neither of which have I at this place to spare. And if I had, I should be much embarrassed how to act. I could not be safe in delivering either without your orders; and to hear the cries of the hungry, who have fled for refuge to these places, with nothing more than they carry on their backs, is exceedingly moving. Therefore I hope, your Honor will give directions concerning this matter.

I have wrote to the Assembly, setting forth the great and absolute necessity there is of erecting a large and strong fort at this place, to serve as a receptacle for all our stores, &c., and a place of refuge for the women and children in times of danger. Was this necessary work completed, the men would, upon any alarm, (as they say themselves,) immediately lodge their families here, and turn out against the enemy. But without some such place of defence, they must always fly in the manner they have, in order to secure their wives and children!

This is the place generally fixed upon, as it has a free and open communication with all the country, from its centrical situation. It also secures the communication with the neighbouring colonies, as well as the trade, to the rivers of Rappahannock, Potomack, &c., and, though trifling in itself, a place of the utmost importance to the country in general, being contiguous to that part of our frontiers (but alas! this is the utmost

frontiers at present) which ever must, if any, sustain the attack of numbers, as it is the nearest to Fort Duquisne, to which place we have opened a free communication. It is also contiguous to their Indian allies, who are at present higher up the Ohio than themselves. It is also conveniently situated for procuring the earliest intelligence, when the enemy is about, and to obtain relief from the militia below. In short it would be needless to urge all the cogent reasons that plead in its behalf, and shew how conveniently situated it is for the commanding officer to reside at. But one I shall add, which alone would be sufficient, and that is what I have before observed, viz., the procuring intelligence. This I now am truly sensible of, from the experience I have had since I came to this place. Since the first murders were committed by the Indians, I have never missed of receiving intelligence of their motions; while Colonel Stephen has, in a manner, lived in total ignorance thereof. The reason is very obvious; for Fort Cumberland is detached so far without the inhabitants, no person thinks of alarming them, but immediately, upon the first fright, retire into the inhabitants. And secondly, it is absolutely necessary to have one large magazine to supply the different forts with stores, &c. which magazine should be rather within the inhabitants, for the greater security in receiving and delivering them out again, and furnishing any reinforcements that may arrive from below, with provision, ammunition, &c. which will always facilitate their march. There should also be ammunition lodged here for supplying the country people when found useful.

Your Honor will observe some parts of Colonel Stephen's letters, as about reinforcements from the second division, and the number of men, &c., which were only finesses in case the letters had fallen into the enemy's hands. The letters, that conveyed the true accounts, were put into the pummel of the saddle, as were mine to him.

I have been formerly, and am at present, pretty full in offering my opinion and counsel upon matters, which regard the public safety and interest. And that have been solely the object of all my thoughts, words, and actions; and, in order to avoid censure in every part of my conduct, I make it a rule to obey the dictates of your Honor, the Assembly, and a good conscience.

I shall not hereafter trouble you further on these topics, as I can add nothing to what I have said. I am your Honor's, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, April 29, 1756.

Parole Xerxes.

Colonel Washington Orders, that no Officer presume on any pretence whatever, to impress any Horse, &c. without first applying to him for a warrant or order. And as complaint has been made, that the Soldiers do take horses without leave; He desires the Officers to be very careful, that no such thing is done for the future: and to warn the Soldiers, that they shall be severely punished, if it can be proved upon any of them hereafter.

*MEMORANDUMS RESPECTING THE MILITIA[39]

April and May, 1756.

Ans. the Govr. that there is Orders for drawg. out all the Amn. and &c. from Fort Cumb'd.

know of the Govr. how they have appd the Regt. whither into two Brs. or not abt. Mr. Fx and for blank Comn.

Whether the Field Officers are allow'd Company's or not

[39] These memoranda cover a few pages of notebook, and were made from day to day as the events noted occurred. They are curious as giving a very good picture of the little reliance that could be put in the Colonial militia.—*Ford.*

The great disadvantage the Country will labr. under by appointg. their draughts for so short a time; before they are cleaverly rais'd they must be discharg'd

Another disadvantage as we are to act upon the defensive is our delays in building Forts; it will be after Mid-summr. before they can be compd. and if the Enemy are thick it can't be done at all with[out] a grt. number of Men to covr. the Workm.

WINCHESTER

On Thursday the 29th. of May [April] 1756 divers expresses being first sent to the County Lieutenants of Fairfax Prince William and Culpeper Mr. Dalton[40] at the head of 31 Volunteer's and 54 Militia from Fairfax came to Town. the same day I received an express from Captn. Broadwater[41] at the Gap of the Short Hills informing me that himself and the Captns. Ramsay, Minor and Hamilton with abt. 100 Men were at that place; that he had receivd by dispatches to hurry on the Militia and desird to know wht. number shoud be sent. I there upon advised with Captn. Dalton who told me that ten Men from each of those Companys was the compliment intended by the Comg. Officer in Fairfax I therefore orderd that number to be imy. detach'd. Suny. Mg. they acly came under Captn. James Hamilton as did Captn. Russel with 23 Volunteers from Williams's gap [where I was obligd to send wt. of Flower and the same quanity of meat before the Party cd. March. Sunday 1st. May][42] this day I rec. another express from Captn. Broadwater setting forth that he had just receivd one from Colo. Carlyle ordering him to remain at tht. place till he heard from me and that he was scarce of provisns. and could not buy. I also

[40] John Dalton.
[41] Charles Broadwater; the other captains mentioned were militia men.
[42] The words in brackets have been crossed out by Washington.

abt. the same time recd. an express from Colo. Carlyle desiring me to order up such a part of the said Militia as I thought necessary upon which I sent to Captn. Broadwater for a Detach. of 25 more and orderd the oths. dismissed.

May 2d. The aforesd. detacht. of 25 arrivd. which made in the whole, includg. Volunteers (but of these 13 returnd) 173 Men.

May 3d. 100 of the aforesd. Militia under the Captns. Minor and Hamilton were ordd. to March for the Branch the rest to join a Scoutg. Party of the Regt. that was orderd to search Back Ck. &c.

May 4th. The Partys Marchd: Captn. Hamilton was ordd. to consult Pearsal and the Kirkendal for the proper place to fix his Company at below the Trought and Captn. Minor to advise Wt. Colo. Vanmeter and Captn. Wagr. for fixg. above. see their Instn. in my orderly book dated May the 4th.

Captn. Dalton with his Volunteers and the rest of the Militia March'd with the Scoutg. Partys of the Regt. he had orders to Post the Militia after he hd finished their Tower of Duty and retd. to Conogochieg at any place where the generallity of the People in those parts but more especially Captn. Swearington wd. choose as the most convenient for proctectg. the whole and to return to this place with his own Comy. of Volunteers. see his orders of the 4th. May This Day 10 of Minors and Hamiltons Men deserted frm thm. On the Br. May 6th: the Prince William Detachment consistg. of 8 Officer's and 121 private Men arriv'd here and abt. an hour or two after them came Colo. Ewel.[43]

May 7th. Lieutenant Colo. Peyton came to Town and Captn. Joseph Murdock with 2 Officers and 20 Men from King

[43] Col. Edwin Ewell. Dr. James Craik married his daughter, Marianne Ewell, in 1760.

George sent up by Colo. Champe,[44] a detacht. of 50 private left the County the rest deserted on their March.

May 8th. The County Lieut. of Prince Wm. Colo. Henry Lee arriv'd. this day we began to experience in a surpg. degree the suparlative insolence of the prince Wm. Detacht. who made use of every mean's to treat not only the Private Soldrs. but the Officer's of the Virga. Regt. ill and upon one of them being seasd. and order'd to the guard House for abusg. in the Most insolt. manr. and offg. to assalt. one of their Officers calld for a number of Men to rescue him and pulld down the House Swore the Officers of the Virginia Regt. were all Scoundrels and that he coud. drive the whole Corps before him the fright that he rec'd. from one of them and his ackts. next morng. suffly attond for his imprudence.

In the Eveng. of this day Captn. Dalton with not only his Volunteer's, but Captn. Russel and his, with the remg. few of the Militia came to Town.

Upon inquiring the Reason of this I was answerd that Captn. Russel and his Vrs. had got tir'd and must needs go home and that the Militia which were only 13 were too sml. to Post at any Pass as I had orderd as indeed they were.

May 9th. Captns. Dalton, Russel with the Volunteers and Militia set out on their return homewards so tht. there only remns. of the Fx M those who W:O: to the B.[45]

Abt. 4 oclock this Eveng. I had an express from Colo. Slaughter[46] infg. me that he was then as far as Perkins's with abt. 200 of the Culpr. Militia upon which I ordd. him to remain there as the Town had more already in it than they cd. lodge

[44] Col. John Champe, who lived on the Rappahannock. His daughter, Jane, was Samuel Washington's wife.

[45] Went out to the Branch.

[46] Col. Thomas Slaughter, of Culpeper County.

and many quarelsome fellows amongst them. he also informd me that they had not above 50 Firelocks in the whole.

May 10th. He came into Town and infd. me that beside himself there were Officers whereof were Field Officers and private Men; and that by a late supply his number of Arms were now abt. 80.

Colo. Bailor[47] with 4 Field Offrs 4 Captains 8 Subalterns and 8 Sergts 8 Corpl. and 170 Private arrived at his place from Caroline County.

May 11th. Colo. Spotswood[48] from Spotsylvania with 3 Field Officers 5 Captns. 10 Subalterns and 130 private Men arrived here and encampd in Colo. Woods[49] Meadow.

Colo. Henry Fitzhugh with 2 Captains 4 Subalterns 1 Clark 4 Sergts. and 102 private also came to Town. as did 9 of the King George Deserter's

The Prince William Militia were ordered to March to Morrow under the Comd. of a Captn. and 4 Sub. to strengthen the Forts on Pattersons Creek with a Subn. and 20 wrk. and to build another at the Mouth of Little Cacapehon but Colo. Henry Peyton who had recd. a special Comn. from his honour the Govrn. insisted upon going out to command them I espostulated with him on the absurdity of it: and represented the unnecessary charge it wd. run the Country to, employing of supernumerary Officer's but nothing woud put aside his intentions he said his only motive in going was to serve his Country and that he expected no reward or gratuity for his trouble; and tht. unless he went he was sure the Men wd. desert. present Colo. Lee, Captn. Mercer and Mr. Kirkpatrick

May 12th. Was the first time I coud get a return of the Number of Carpenter's that were among the Militia

[47] Col. John Baylor. His son George was an aide-de-camp to Washington in the Revolutionary War.

[48] Col. John Spotswood.

[49] Col. James Wood, of Frederick County.

In the Eveng. abt. 5 Oclock Lt. Colo. Peyton with the Prince Wm. Detacht. Marchd consistg. of himself, Captn. 4 Subalterns and 96 private as pr. return.

See his order's at large in my orderly Book.

This day also the King George Militia had orders to March to Mendenhalls Fort to protect the Inhabitants under those Mountains

The Officer's and Soldiers of the Militia begin to discover great uneasiness at their stay and want much to return thinking they have performd a sufft. Tower of duty by Marchg. to Winchester.

May 13th. An express came from Colo. Peyton informg. that a Sergt. and 14 Men deserted last Night from him at Paris's Fort and desireing a Reinforcement I was oblgd. to Countermand the Order's to the King George Militia and to, send them to join him with Order's to remain in Ashbys Fort and they accordingly Marchd 29 in number under Lieut. Nugent the rest were Sick and deserted and this N:[50] 4 out of the 20 also Marchd off.

Many complaints from the Officer's of Militia abt. the insufficiency of the allowance of Provisions for their Men (tho they had a 1 lb. of Meat and the like quantity of flour pr. day wch is the same that the Soldrs. have) obligd me to order the Comy. to deliver the Officer's allowance to the Private Men in order to appease their clamours this I did to prevent increasing the allowance and settg. bad examples but this proveing insufft. also I was oblgd to order the allowe, to be increased to 1¼ of Flour and as much flesh pr. Day

May 14th. The Orange Militia under Colo. Talliaferro[51] consistg. of 2 Field Officer's 2 Captns. 4 Subalterns and 100 privates Men came to Town as did Colo. Barret with 130 men from

[50] Night.
[51] Col. William Talliaferro.

Louisa. In the Evening of this day I summon'd all the Field Officer's to meet, that we might advise and consult on the proper expedts. to be taken with the Militia see a Copy of the proceedings in my Orderly Book, in consequence of these resolves and advise frm Colo. Martin and Mr. Comy. Walker knowg. in the Situation of our Frontiers I ordered the Commanding Officers of each Militia to furnish the following number of Men which was proportion'd equally among those that were here and appointed them to remain as below.

	Fd. Offrs.	Capt.	Lt.	E	I	
At Mendelhals Fort. Lt. Thoms. wth.	0:	0:	1:	0:	2.	
At the Mth. of Sleepy Ck.		1.	1.	0.	3.	50
At the Mth. of Little Cacp.	1.	1.	3.	1.	4.	90
At Ashby's Fort			1.		2.	27
Also at Do			1.		2.	35
At Cock's Fort		1.	1.	1.	2.	45
At pearsals		1.	1.	1.	2.	45
At Harness's Fort			1.	0.	2.	30
At Waggener's uppr. F		1.	1.	0.	2.	50
At Enoch's			1.	0.	2.	35

At Winchester to Work on the Fort and to be ready in cases of Emergency 75 exclusive of the above and taken from all the Sevl. Countys

Fairfax and P. W. have furnish a larger number of Men than the other county's because they arrived with those numbers and were ordered on to assist and relieve the Inhabitants on the Branch, and it wd. have run the Country to considerable additional expence to relieve them now and no very gt. purpose as we soon expected to receive the draughts.

May 15th. The Council being finishd. the aforesd. number of Men were ordd. to be draughted, and the remr. to receive provision to carry them back and to be discharg'd.

The said several draughts were orderd to get ready to March in the Mg. to their respective Posts.

May 16th. The Cg. Officers of each Militia (Culpeper excepted) reportd. that severals of their Men had deserted upon which I sent out to see if they coud be taken, the Comy. also reported that he had been trying and coud not procure a Waggon to tranport the necessary stock of Provn. and Amn. with them, I was therefore obligd. to postpone their March one day longer.

By this time I had engagd 70 Carp. from the Militia to work at 6 d. extra pay on the Fort and also had their own Officers to overlook and manage them.

May 17th. Some time last Night an express from the So. Branch arrivd with letter's from Ashbys, Cocks and Pearsall's Fort informg. that a considerable body of Indian's were abt. again and had taken a prisr. Upon this all the Militia of Louisa and Stafford save 6 of the first and 8 of the latter deserted and the Caroline Detacht. being reduced to 40 Rank and file the Spotsylvania to 22 and the Orange being lessen'd also I was obligd. to add the 6 Louisa Men to the Carpenter's till the return of their Officers who I immediately sent in pursuit of them, the 8 Stafford men to those of Spotsylvania and to alter the disposition that was first made to the one followg. viz;

	Fd.	Affr.	C.	L.	E.	I.	P.	M.	
At Mendenhals.....	0.		1.	1.	0.	2.	40	fm.	Caroline
At Ashby's Fort.....				2.		6.	36	fm.	Sp. K. G. and Std.
At Pearsals.....	1.		1.	3.	1.	4.	90	fm.	P. W.
At Kirkendals.....			1.	1.	1.		45	fm.	Fx
At Harness's Fort....				1.	0.	2.	25		Orange
At Wagrs. Upper Fort			1.	1.		2.	51		Culpr.
To be advd. by C. Wr. and Cl. Van.....			1.	1.	1.	2.	45		Fx

The reason for this disposition to guard the Inhabitants that still remaind; to secure their grain and stock; to help in with their Harvest and to be contiguous to the People and to each

other that they might unite occasionally and go in quest of the Enemy. They all Marchd this day to thr. new appd. Stations: Besides the Militia Offrs. that were sent after the Deserters I orderd out one from the Regt. with a party of 8 or 10 Men mounted to go in pursuit of them.

Our Strength being so much reducd by the number of Deserter's that had gone off tht upon the rt. of Ashby's and othrs [?] I imy. dispatc'd. an express to the Colos. Barrat, Talliaferro and Slaughter who were the last that had left this place ordering them to return with their Men.

In the Eveng. the Colos. Barrat and Tallia. return'd without any Men informg. me that many of them had taken different roads homewards and that those who were with Colo. Talliaferro upon hearg. that they were orderd. back chargd. their pieces and cond. their march towards their County in defiance of the Offrs.

May 18th. last night Mr. Bullet the Officer who I had sent out returnd with 14 of the deserters who to avoid punisht. inlisd. in the V. R.

[May] 19 The Express returnd. from Colo. Slaughter who also informed that his Men were dispersed but if they cd. be gatherd. again he wd. return on thursday.

May 20th. Abt. 9 O'Clock this Night an Express came to Me from Colo. Slaughter who informed Me tht he had met at the Place appointed for the Rendezvous of his Militia but tht only 8 or 9 appeared, desired to know if he shoud farther endeavour to collect, he believed it might be done so soon as they recovered a little from the Fatigue of their March; I wrote him by this Express and desired him as I had heard nothing of the Enemy since to postpone bringing up any Men till they were drafted, wch. I recommended to him to be done wth. the greatest Expedition; also if it woud not be contrary to the

Govrs. Orders to him to march his Men so soon as draftd. to this Place, as it would save much Time and Expence.[52]

ORDERS

Winchester, May 1, 1756.

Parole Augusta.

A Return to be given in immediately of the whole number of men of the Virginia Regiment now in this Town; and those that are fit for Duty.

AFTER ORDERS

A Captain, two Subalterns, three Sergeants, three Corporals, one Drummer, and forty-five private men to mount Guard tomorrow morning, at eight o'clock.

Every Officer in town to make out his Recruiting accompt., observing the former Rules and Orders given about that point, and to give them in immediately.

Any commissioned Officer, who stands by and sees irregularities committed and does not endeavour to quell them; shall be immediately put under Arrest. Any non-commissioned Officer, present, who does not interpose shall be immediately reduced; and receive corporal punishment.

Any Soldier, who shall presume to quarel or fight; shall receive five hundred lashes, without the Benefit of a Court Martial. The offender (upon complaint made) shall have strict justice done him. Any Soldier found Drunk, shall immediately receive one hundred lashes; without Benefit of a court martial.

The Officer of the Guard is particularly ordered, to be diligent in seeing these orders executed. A Court Martial to sit immediately, for trial of these two Soldiers, confined for fighting with the Militia.

* * * * *

[52] The entry for May 20 is in the writing of John Kirkpatrick.

ORDERS

[Winchester, May 2, 1756.]

A Return to be given in immediately of the Detachments from Fort Cumberland, Cocke's and Ashby's Forts; by the Officers; of what necessaries the men want, which will be delivered them immediately. They are also to return the number of men each of those Officers has under command; and they shall receive a months' pay for each man.

The General Court Martial, whereof Captain Stewart was president, is dissolved.

Colonel Washington has approved of the sentence of the said Court martial, which was unanimous in opinion, that Lieutenant Lomax was not guilty of neglect of Duty; and that he remained in the Fort in consequence of his Orders; and that his conduct is not culpable.

A General Court Martial, to consist of four Captains and five Subalterns, to sit immediately for trial of Sergeant Nathaniel Lewis; for retreating with a party without Orders. And those men, confined for throwing away their Arms in the retreat of the party, defeated on the eighteenth of April last, near Edwards's Fort.

Captain Woodward, President: who is to wait on Colonel Washington for his Orders.

Mr. Kirkpatrick, Judge Advocate.

All Evidences to attend.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I received your two letters of the 23d and 26th ultimo.

I have sent down an Indian scalp, which was taken off at the place where Captain Mercer had his engagement. He was

found thrust under some rocks, and stones piled up against them. They have reason to believe there were more killed, from the quantity of blood found on the ground where the Indians fired from, and from other discoveries of their attempts to make more graves. But a hard shower of rain prevented their making a farther search.

We have some reason to believe, the Indians are returned to Fort Duquisne, as some scouts from Fort Cumberland saw their tracts that way; and many corroborating accounts affirm, that the roads over the Allegany Mountains are as much beaten, as they were last year by General Braddock's army. From these and other circumstances we may judge their numbers were considerable. Whether they are gone for the season, or only to bring in a larger party, I am at a loss to determine.

For which reason, and from the scarcity of provisions on this side Fort Cumberland, I must beg leave humbly to offer it to your Honor's superior judgment, if it would not be advisable to stop all the militia, that are ordered from the ten counties, save about five or six hundred from the adjacent ones? which will serve to cover our frontiers on this quarter, which is the only part that ever will or can be much exposed,) until the regiment is completed by draughts and until they can erect fortresses, if the country intend a chain of forts for their defence. Draughts, if they are judiciously chosen, will be of infinitely more service, and much less expense to the country, and can be immediately put to their posts.

I am convinced, if your Honor has a mind to stop any part of the militia, you will have full time, notwithstanding they are ordered to rendezvous at this place on the 10th instant. I never knew any yet to appear in ten days after they were expected; and I am also apprehensive, that having so many of the militia out will be the means of retarding the draughts, which, above all things, I wish to see.

Though I have often troubled you on this head, I must again beg leave to desire your particular instructions and information, of what is to be done, as, being in a state of uncertainty, without knowing the plan of operations, or what scheme to go upon, reduces me to the greatest straits, and leaves me to *guess* at every thing. Orders, that are absolutely necessary to be despatched to the officers one day, appear the next as necessary to be contradicted; so that I really cannot tell how to act for the good of the service, or satisfaction of any individual. Was the regiment complete, and things put on a proper footing, the whole would go on smoothly and regularly, which is now rendered impossible. So much am I kept in the dark, that I do not know whether to prepare for the offensive or defensive; and what might be absolutely necessary in the one, would be quite useless in the other.

Great inconveniences arise from our being so dispersed through the country. The men cannot be regularly paid or supplied. If every company had its proper post assigned, pay might be sent to them, and necessaries always provided in due season. We could also have the same advantages were we collected in one place. But there are so many detachments out, one officer may command men of every company of the regiment, and if necessaries are sent them he is removed from his command, and those things cannot be stopped out of their pay. So by this method the country loses money, the men are badly supplied, and always discontented.

I find the act of Assembly against mutiny and desertion quite insufficient, except in those two particular crimes. There is no notice, nor can a court-martial be held, by virtue of this act against any officer or soldier who is charged with cowardice, holding correspondence with the enemy, quitting or sleeping upon a post, nay, many other crimes, which are

provided against in the articles of war. I think, at this time, it would be for the good of the service to make an act to enforce the articles of war in general, except two or three particular ones, such as impressing wagons, &c. They are in force in our mother country. They think them the best calculated for keeping soldiers under discipline; and none of them would prove burthensome, or inconvenient, either to the public or any individual, and I cannot, nor I imagine few others can assign any reason, why we should pretend to quit *that* which by long experience has been found the best, to introduce one quite insufficient.

There are now in town about one hundred and fifty of the Fairfax militia. Three hundred are expected from Prince William. With the soldiers and militia now here, I intend to go out and scour the woods hereabouts for three or four days until the others arrive.

I want very much to go to Fort Cumberland to regulate affairs there, but fear I cannot spare time, as my presence will be very necessary here.

Clothes for the men are very much wanted. There are none in store, and some men, who have been enlisted these two months, to whom we could give nothing but a blanket, shoes, and shirt, are justly dissatisfied at having two pence per day stopped from them.[53] Provision here is scarce, and the commissary much wanted to lay in more. I have been, and still am, obliged to do this duty, as well as most others, which I would take upon me, rather than let any thing be wanting for the good of the country, which I *could* do.

I enclose your Honor the sentence of a general court-martial, which was held here upon a sergeant for running away with

[53] The soldiers were paid 8 pence a day. Out of this amount 2 pence a day were reserved for supplying them with clothes. (See Washington's letter to Alexander Boyd, Nov. 1, 1755, *ante*.)

his party.[54] They have, I think, very justly adjudged him to suffer death, which sentence I hope you will approve of as there never was a fitter object to make an example of, being the second time he has been guilty of the same crime, nor a better time, as the newly draughted recruits for the regiment may be here by that time to see it executed, and it will be a good warning to them. . . .[55]

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

Sir: You are Hereby Ordered to repair to Maidstone, the place where your Troop is Quartered; and remain there until further Orders.

You are to hold a Court Martial for punishing the ring-leading mutineers of your Troop.

You will receive two hundred and sixty-four pounds, eighteen shillings and a penny, for payment of your own Troop, and the other Detachments at that place. And you are to see that the Officers make you out regular pay-rolls for their men; before you deliver the money: And are to Order them to take two Receipts from each man; as directed in a former Order.

You are also desired, to settle the Recruiting Accompts. of those Officers that are now at Maidstone: and to acquaint them who fall in debt to the Country; that the Committee have ordered me to stop their pay, until the respective Sums are discharged; and I must desire that you will do it.

You are to Order the Officers to make all the usual deductions from the mens pay; and to keep them for the Paymaster.

[54] Nathan Lewis, who had shown his cowardice in the affair at Edwards Fort in which John Mercer was killed. A copy of his court-martial is in the *Washington Papers* and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 247. The original, signed by all the court and approved by Washington, is in the Virginia State Library.

[55] An omitted paragraph as to the pay of William Jenkins, the express rider.

You are also to desire that the Officers will see that their men lay out their pay in necessaries; and not foolishly spend it.

You are also to desire that they will stop the prices of such necessaries as the men may have had, over and above their allowances. And pay no men, Sergeants and Corporals pay, but such as have actually been regularly appointed at Fort Cumberland.

You must be very diligent in sending out reconnoitring parties to scour the Woods; and use your utmost endeavours to protect the people in those parts.

EVENING ORDERS

Winchester, May 3, 1756.

The General Court Martial, whereof Captain Stewart was President, is dissolved.

Colonel Washington approves of the Sentence of the Court; was unanimous in opinion, that Sergeant Nathan Lewis, for his misbehaviour, in running away with his Party, should suffer Death.

The three eldest Captains, eight Subalterns, ten Sergeants, one Drummer, and an hundred Rank and File, to hold themselves in readiness to march to morrow morning upon a Scout.

The Officers to examine the mens arms and ammunition; and see that they are in good order; and are completed with Cartridges. This command to draw two days provision more to-night.

The Captains for this command to see that these Orders are punctually complied with.

Of the Fairfax Militia one hundred men must march to-morrow for the South Branch; under two Captains and four Subalterns; and to receive their Orders from Colonel Washington. The remainder of the Fairfax Militia, and the

Company of Volunteers, under Captain John Dalton; are to join the above party, ordered to Scout.

To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are with your party under command, to proceed up the new road to Fort Cumberland, as far as Back Creek: when you come there, you must take down these waters, and scour the woods down the Creek, until you come to Potomac River; detaching small reconnoitring parties into the Mountains.

You are to use all possible precaution in your Search; and above all things, to guard against a Surprize.

You are to endeavour to procure persons acquainted with those parts, for Guides. When you, arrive at Potomack, you are to take down the river to Conogochieg; where you are to draw provisions for your Party, sufficient to bring them back to this place; where you are to proceed with the utmost expedition, after finishing the Route above ordered.

To CAPTAIN JOHN DALTON[56]

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to join with the Volunteers and Militia under your command, the Detachment sent with Captain Woodward, to scour Back-Creek, &c. He is directed to proceed down the said Creek, until he comes to Potomack River; and then to march to Conogochieg to get provisions. When you arrive there, you must consult with the Inhabitants the best place to post the Militia at, under command of Captain Russell;[57] and proceed yourself to this place; Captain

[56] Capt. John Dalton, of the Fairfax volunteers.
[57] Capt. William Russell, of the militia.

Swearingham[58] can give you the best information concerning this matter.

To CAPTAIN JAMES HAMILTON

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to repair with the Detachment under your command to Job Pearsals and John Kirkindalls; with whom you are to consult and avise upon the proper place to make your Head-Quarters.

You are to take care to provide your Company with necessary provisions, agreeable to the Act of Assembly. And you are to be careful in sending out frequent scouting parties: and to use your utmost endeavours to protect the Inhabitants, and keep them quiet.

ORDERS

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Parole Dartmouth.

As Colonel Washington has received certain advice of the Militia of some of the adjacent Counties, being on their march near this place. It has prevented his going out with the party ordered yesterday. And those Orders are countermanded.

The eldest Captain, six Subalterns, six Sergeants, one Drummer, and one hundred rank and file, are to march immediately upon the Scout. The Captain to wait upon Colonel Washington for his Orders.

The following prices are fixed for the necessaries delivered the Soldiers; Vizt.

A Blanket	£0:	10:	0
A Shirt		10:	0
A pair of Shoes		8:	0
A pr. of Stockings		3:	0
A Hat		2:6	

[58] Capt. Thomas Swearingham, of the militia.

These Articles being better in their *kind* than usual, are calculated at the *lowest* prices. The Guard is reduced to a Sergeants Command.

To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR

Winchester, May 4, 1756.

Sir: you are hereby ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command, as far as Colonel Henry Vanmeeters, on the South Branch; and when there to consult with him and Captain Waggener, on the properest place to fix your Head Quarters, for the protection of the Inhabitants of those waters. And you are to be careful in seeing that your Company is provided with provisions, as the Act of Assembly shall direct.

You must not post your Company too near the men that are already stationed there; but endeavour to cover as much ground as possible; and to keep out constant scouting parties.

To CAPTAIN HENRY WOODWARD

Winchester, May 5, 1756.

Sir: I was not a little surprized to hear of the misbehaviour of your party last night at Jesse Pugh's. He has been with me this morning, and complained that they killed his Fowls, pulled down one of his Houses for firewood; turned the Horses into his meadow and corn; destroyed them and his Fences.

As I should imagine that your sense would direct you better, were it not absolutely contradicted by an express order, which I found it necessary to give last October, when you was present.

I can not credit the Report; but only send this in order that you may be particularly careful for the future: as you may depend I shall call you to account, for any irregularities that are committed by your party.

If they are guilty of such misbehaviour it entirely perverts the design they were sent upon; as they are intended to relieve, and not add to the distresses of the people.

I desire you will shew this to Captain Dalton; to let him know what complaints are made. I have sent Orders to Captain Stewart to stop you at Conogochieg, until the Waggons arrive there for Provisions. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT WILLIAM STARK

Winchester, May 7, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby Ordered to proceed immediately to Edwards's Fort, to relieve Ensign Hubbard: and acquaint him it is my Orders, that he proceed directly to this place. If your command there should want provisions, you are hereby empowered to purchase Beef, mutton, &c. upon the best terms; and draw upon the Commissary for the money. Taking care to purchase only as you want; for it is uncertain, how long your command will remain at that place.

You are to transmit me an account of what intelligence you receive from time to time; if you think it necessary to be communicated. You are to use your utmost endeavours and diligence, in protecting and keeping the Inhabitants quiet: and are to keep your party under strict discipline; and see that they commit no irregularities, nor give any cause for complaint.

You will receive twenty-five Shirts, and twenty-five pair of shoes; of which you are to take a particular accompt. in the delivery; and stop them out of the mens pay; as they will be charged to you.

You will receive Twenty-three pounds seventeen shillings for payment of the said Detachment: and you are, so soon as they are paid, to transmit me the pay-roll; and each mans receipt for the money, agreeable to the usual custom.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

May 8, 1756.

Sir: I received yours by the Bearer. As neither Captain Bell nor Captain Gist, can make out regular pay-rolls for their men; a months pay will be sufficient at this time to give them. If any Officer is in want of pay, and not indebted to the Country for Recruiting; Let him receive out of the Balance in your hands: but let them all know, that it will appear a little dark on their side, if they should draw pay, and are owing the Country: as I have Orders to the contrary.

I do not know what you can do with your Sick; we have no Surgeon to spare: and to send medicines without a person to apply them, will be needless. Out of the few Tents that are at this place, I will send two or three per the first opportunity. I would, were I in your place, make Captain Caton[59] produce Lord Fairfax's Order, before I would give up the House. If you are not apprehensive of the Enemys destroying the Flour at Stoddarts Fort in any short time, I would let it remain there; and send up a party to see that it is properly secured. If you should send up for it, employ as few of the Country people as possible; that the Country may be at little expence.

You are directed to receive Captains Bell and Gists' Recruits; and to be very circumspect in your choice; as I would not receive any but very likely fellows at this time. I must desire you will put your Works at Maidstone, in as good a posture of Defence as possible. To do which, borrow or hire Tools of the Country people; for there are none of any kind at this place. Soon as this reaches you, hurry off what Waggons are at the Stores, loaded with Flour, under a proper Escort. And Captain Woodward will wait until Monday, so see if more do not

[59] Capt. Thomas (?) Caton.

arrive. Until I know what fixed Resolves the Assembly have come to, about raising and appointing their Troops; I can not confirm Mr. Campbell, or order any other to the Troop of Horse. It would look very partial to give Mr. Duncanson[60] the highest post of Honor, who is not yet an Officer; preferable to those who have served sometime as Ensigns. I am, &c. yours

ORDERS

Winchester, May 9, 1756.

Parole Jersey.

As there are some Indians coming up to this place, and the ill consequence of giving them Liquor is well known to all who have ever heard of an Indian. It is Colonel Washingtons particular request and Orders That none of the Officers, or any other person, will pretend, upon any pretence whatever, to give them any money or spirituous liquor; as it will be impossible to make them serviceable, if they can get liquor when they want it, or can *buy* it. A Sergeant and Drummer, immediately to go through the Town, and proclaim this Order.

EVENING ORDERS

Captain Woodwards party being returned; One Captain, two Subalterns, three Sergeants, three Corporals, one Drummer, and forty-five private men; to mount Guard to-morrow morning, eight o'clock.

As many men as can possibly lodge in the Tents provided, are to lie in camp: For the rest the Officers are to see Quarters provided, without interfering with the Militia.

The Officers to see the Rolls called regularly, agreeable to Orders; and not trust so much to Sergeants; as hath been the practice lately. It is expected strict obedience will be paid to these Orders to prevent a repetition of them.

[60] James Duncanson. He afterwards became a lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Winchester, May 10, 1756.

Sir: I have received yours this morning; and wonder you were not more explicit in the reasons you have for believing the Enemys return. You are sensible, the want of proper intelligence, retards and disappoints the necessary expedients for Defence and Assistance. You must endeavour to procure Tools for the Carpenters; either from the inhabitants, or made by the Smiths there, upon the lowest terms: as we have no kinds here, nor can by any means supply you. And I hope you will take all care to make that place as impregnable as you possibly can; in case you should meet with an attack.

In my former, I promised to send you some Tents: but, upon examination, the whole Stock consists only of twelve; which does not suffice half the number of men here: and the Militia taking up the houses in town; we are at present obliged to make use of tents. However, when the Militia march hence, I shall send what can be spared. Until then, you must make the best shift you can. You must try to supply yourself with cartridge paper in the neighbourhood; there being very little in Store here.

As you will have frequent opportunities here, you must make out a particular Accompt. of what Cartridge Boxes, Blankets, and other necessaries; that we may furnish you with what we can.

I would desire you to be careful how you employ that Doctor. The country has great objections to those occasional Quacks; whose only study is to swell their *Bills,* and to make their profit of the Country. Let him be used as seldom as possible; as I believe he can administer not a deal of comfort to

those indisposed, if one may judge by his sobriety! You have what can be got of the medicines wrote for. The Horses I would have you send to some good pasture and let them recruit, if you can find one convenient. If Stoddarts Fort is to be burnt; I would have you send a pretty strong Guard to bring off the Flour, as soon as you can. Captain Woodward is arrived; and in order to preserve your strength, I have ordered an Escort from this to Conogochieg, to return with the Waggons. You may pay the Officers a months pay, as I directed formerly.

What have you done in these Recruiting Accompts. you had a note of? You will be careful of the Rolls and Receipts, for the Paymaster; so as he may be able to adjust his Accompts. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE[61]

May 12, 1756.

Sir: Captain Baylis,[62] of the Prince William Militia, will give you this; and leave you a reinforcement of twenty men; with these, and the Detachment of your own Company, which has now certainly rejoined you; you will be sufficiently able to send out several scouting parties: And it is my desire, you do your utmost to scour these parts, and protect the people.

You will deliver Mr. Baylis what Carpenters tools you have in the Fort: as he has Orders to build a small Fort at the mouth of Little Capecapon. Take Receipts for the several Tools you deliver the Officers. I am, &c.[63]

[61] Captain of the First Company of Rangers.
[62] Capt. John Baylis.
[63] A copy of this was also sent to Capt. John Ashby.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL HENRY PEYTON[64]

Winchester, May 12, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command along the old waggon-road, until you come to Cockes's Fort, on Patterson's Creek; where you are to leave a Subaltern, one Sergeant, and twenty men, to strengthen that Garrison. From thence you are to continue your march to Ashby's Fort; which you are also to strengthen with the same number of men; and from there you are to proceed to Friend Cox's, at the mouth of Little Capecapon. Post your party at that place; and immediately set about erecting a Fortress, for the security of the pass, and for the defence of your Detachment.

You are to draw out all such Carpenters tools as can possibly be spared from the two Forts: and you are to be very circumspect in chusing the spot of Ground to erect the Work on: which must be of the same dimensions, and built after the same model of Ashby's. For which reason you must be very careful in examining of it.

You are always to keep covering parties to secure your Workmen: and to mount a Guard regularly on your March, and at your Station, to prevent Surprizes.

You must apply to the Commissary for provisions to carry with your Detachment; and to take his Directions how to keep your party supplied for the future.

I earnestly entreat, that you will be careful to observe good Order and Discipline among your men: that you will ever be mindful of the charge you are entrusted with: and diligent in executing with the utmost Dispatch, all these several Orders.

[64] Of the Prince William militia.

COUNCIL OF WAR

May 14, 1756.

At a Council of War, Held at Winchester, the 14th. day of May, 1756; for considering and determining upon the necessary measures to be taken at this juncture with the Militia ordered here by His Honor, the Governor.

Colonel George Washington, President.

Colonel Spotswood	Colonel Baylor
Colonel Martin	Colonel Lee
Colonel Thornton	Colonel Fitzhugh
Colonel Slaughter	Colonel Taliaferro
Colonel Muse	Major Green
Major Taylor	Major Pendleton
Major Stephen	

Upon the Question being put by Colonel Washington, whether it was advisable to send part of the Militia now here, to Guard and cover our Southern Frontiers?

It was resolved in the negative; and for the following reasons: vizt.

1st. The Southern Frontiers lying at a greater distance from, and less exposed to the Enemy, than these northern frontiers; and being more difficult to come at: It is believed they can not suffer much, before the Draughts for completing the Regiment, may be sent thither.

2ly. By His Honor, the Governor, ordering none but the northern Counties to be Draughted; and those all directed to Rendezvous at this place; it appears plainly to have been his opinion in Council, that the southern Counties which lie contiguous, should be left to march out, in case the Enemy should invade the Country on that Quarter.

3ly. As it would be attended with great hardships upon numbers of poor men draughted out of these ten northern Counties, to march to the Frontiers of Augusta, when there are so many Inhabitants, that are much more convenient for its Defence.

4thly. Upon advising with the Commissary, we were informed, that it would require some time to lay in Provisions for a Body of men on that Quarter; and, unless Troops were immediately put there, it would not answer the salutary end proposed: which can not be done sooner than by the Draughts for the Regiment.

5ly. We have no certain advices of the Enemy being now down; but on the contrary many corroborating accounts affirming that their tracts in great numbers have been discovered repassing the mountain.

It was judged advisable to discharge all of the Militia, except what were absolutely necessary to resist a second invasion upon this Quarter.

Go: WASHINGTON P.
JOHN SPOTSWOOD
J. BAYLOR
HENRY LEE
JOHN THORNTON
HENRY FITZHUGH JUNIOR
THOMAS SLAUGHTER
WILLIAM TALIAFERRO
GEORGE MUSE
WILLIAM GREEN
FRANCIS TAYLOR
BENJ. PENDLETON
JOSEPH STEVENS[65]

[65] Stevens's name in the list of members of the council, spelled Stephen, is an error of the copyist of 1784–85. The absence of Col. Thomas Bryan Martin's name among the signers is probably due to the same cause.

May 15th. 1756

Since Holding the above Council, the Subscribers from Louisa, with the Militia of that County, came into Town; and heard the determinations and reasons of the Council are satisfied, and agree to the above resolves.

CHARLES BARRET
ROBERT ANDERSON

ORDERS FOR THE MILITIA

[May 15, 1756.]

The Commanding Officers of the Militia left at this place, are to order all their Men to be under Arms at Retreat-beating this Evening: and are to acquaint them, that if any of them desert, they will be immediately draughted as Soldiers into the Virginia Regiment.

They are also to order them to lodge their Arms in some secure place; and not suffer them to go about the Streets with their Arms. They will be Relieved as soon as the Draughts for the Regiment are made: and will not be liable to a chance of being draughted themselves.

IN CONSEQUENCE of the Council of War that was held the 14th. instant: Such part of the Militia of the several Counties as rendezvous'd at this place, and were detained here; are ordered to be posted as follows vizt.

At Mendenhalls Fort Lieutenant Thomas, with two Sergeants and twenty-five private men, from Orange-County.

At the Mouth of Sleepy-Creek; Captain Woodford; one Lieutenant, three Sergeants, and fifty private men, from Caroline.

At the Mouth of Little Capecapon, Colonel Peyton; one Captain, four Subalterns, four Sergeants, and Ninety men, from Prince William.

At Ashby's Fort, Lieutenant Newgent; two Sergeants, and twenty-five private men, from King George; Lieutenant

Lewis; two Sergeants and thrity-five private men, from Spottsylvania.

At Cocke's Fort, Captain Minor; one Lieutenant, one Ensign, two Sergeants, and forty-five private men from Fairfax.

At, or about Pearsalls, Captain Hamilton, one Lieutenant, one Ensign, two Sergeants, and forty-five private men, from Fairfax.

At Harnesses Fort, Lieutenant Hedgman, two Sergeants and thirty private men, from Stafford.

At Luney's Creek, Captain Fields, one Lieutenant, two Sergeants, and fifty private men, from Culpeper.

At Enock's, Lieutenant Bebb, with two Sergeants, and thirty-five private men, from Louisa.

At Winchester, Carpenters, Seventy-five, from the whole.

To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR

May 16, 1756.

Sir: You are immediately upon receipt of this, with the men under your command, to march to Cocke's Fort, on Pattersons Creek; and there join him. You are to consult with Captain Cocke, and take his directions, in sending out frequent Scouting parties, to scour the Country, and make discoveries.

It is expected that strict obedience will be paid these Orders; as they are in consequence of a Council of War, which has regulated and appointed the Militia to different Stations.

Your Station at this Fort will be more agreeable, as you will have a cover for your men, and be clear of the trouble of procuring provisions.

When you join Captain Cocke, you are to shew him these Orders; and tell him, that Captain Waggener has Directions to draw out all the Forces but what is just sufficient to defend the place upon any alarm: in order that he may be strong enough to pursue the Enemy. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: A party of the Militia of Stafford, is ordered to Harnesses Fort; and will march to-morrow: as will a party of the Culpeper Militia, to your upper fort. So soon as they arrive there, I would have you order down your men from that, to your station at Vanmeeters; as you will be posted there to assist the Inhabitants, with your Company and advice, in case of any alarms; and a second descent of the Indians. I would have you collect from these different Forts near you, a sufficient number of men, and endeavour immediately to drive them off.

The different stations of the Officers and men, which you will have the direction of; and must order as you think proper, upon any alarm; are as follows:

At Cockes, Harnesses, and your upper Fort.[66] You are immediately to make out a Pay-Roll for pay due your Company; and send it by an Officer immediately to the Pay-Master, at Fort Cumberland: and he will receive the money.

If your Officers should arrive at the Fort, before the Pay-Master receives advice from me; he must wait until he does.

So soon as he returns and you pay your men off; you must transmit me their Receipts for their pay, not only now, but for all you have paid them since you have been at that Station; as directed in a former Order. I am, Sir, Yours etc.

To COLONEL HENRY PEYTON

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: The Detachment from King George, under Lieutenant Newgent, is to be stationed at Ashby's Fort; and you are to proceed with the whole of your Militia, to the Mouth of Little

[66] Evidently blanks were left for the number of men to be ordered to these alarm posts, but the copyist has ignored them.

Capecapon; and are not to station any of them at Cocke's or Ashby's Forts; as reinforcements from the other Militia will be sent there.

I expect a strict compliance with these Orders, and diligence in executing them; and those you have before received (except here contradicted). You are to acquaint Mr. Newgent that it is my Orders, he obey Captain Ashby; and assist in sending out frequent Scouting parties. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM WOODFORD

Winchester, May 16, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby ordered to proceed with the Detachment under your command to the mouth of Sleepy-Creek; and chuse at that place, or in the neighbourhood thereof, the most convenient place to post your party: In doing which, consult the most judicious and knowing of the Inhabitants. You must get your men into some of the most tenable Houses; and endeavour to erect or throw up such necessary works of defence, as will secure them from any sudden assaults of the Enemy. The Settlers, will no doubt give you all imaginable assistance of men and Tools to carry on the work, as it is intended for their security. You are to use your utmost endeavours to protect the people from the insults of the enemy; and to encourage them by all fair and lawful means, to return to their Dwellings. You are to be particularly careful that no irregularities happen among yourselves. That there is due discipline observed; and that your Men are not suffered to go out in small parties marauding; but are to have your lists at least called twice a-day, to prevent their stragling, and Deserting. Scouting parties you are frequently to send out to range the hills and waters, to see if any tracks of the Enemy can be found: These parties in a general way, should consist of one-third of your men. You are

to mount Guard regularly every twenty-four hours; from which Sentries are to be posted and relieved every hour, for the security of your camp, and to prevent surprize. Your ammunition should be well secured, and great care taken of it; and your arms in constant good order; that you always be in readiness for the worst events.

The Commissary will deliver to you provisions; and instruct you in the means of procuring more, as your party shall want.[67]

To CAPTAIN JOHN FIELD

Winchester, May 17, 1756.

Sir: You are hereby ordered to proceed with the utmost expedition to Job Pearsalls on the South-Branch: You will be joined by the Militia of Spotsylvania and Orange, who are to march with you to that place.

When you arrive there, you are to summon a Council of War, of the Officers with you, and those already at the South Branch; and consult upon the most proper steps to be taken. If you find the Indians still continue about there, you must all unite; and endeavour if possible to surprize them in the night at their sleeping places. But if they are gone off; I would have you and the rest of the Officers with the Men, to proceed immediately to the posts allotted to them in yesterdays Orders.

To CAPTAIN NICHOLAS MINOR

May 17, 1756.

Sir: I would have you remain at Kirkendalls with your party until Colonel Peytons return to the Branch; and then march to the place directed in your former Orders; and take the advice

[67] Practically the same instructions were sent to Lieutenant Hedgman, of the Stafford militia, ordered to Harness's Fort; to Capt. John Field, of the Culpeper militia, ordered to the South Branch; to Lieuts. Cornelius Thomas, Orange militia, ordered to Mendenhall's; and Thomas Beeb, Louisa militia, ordered to Henry Enoch's.

of Captain Waggener, &c. how to act for the security and defence of the Inhabitants. Be very diligent and circumspect on your march or otherwise; and use every endeavour to prevent a surprize from the Enemy, as they will be sure to attack when unguarded. Give all assistance you can to secure the peoples cattle and Grain: And be active in every thing for their protection. Let me hear immediately any intelligence you receive of the Enemy worth regarding. I am, &c.

To COLONEL HENRY PEYTON

Winchester, May 17, 1756.

Sir: I had yours last night; and observe your dangers from the Indians about the Neighbourhood. I would have you consult with Governor Innes upon the most expedient measures to pursue: and by all means, let me advise you never to be unguarded in case of a Surprize.

I have had some conversation with people from the Branch since I wrote to you last; and find it requisite to continue your command on these waters, to range and scout about, and to secure the Grain and Cattle of the Inhabitants from the Enemy; than to build that Fort on Capecapon, for sometime yet.

Before *this* reaches you, you may (perhaps) have marched from Pearsalls; as I understand you intend it. Upon your return from escorting Governor Innes, I would have you make Pearsalls your Head-Quarters, and to send out your Scouting parties as low as the mouth of the River. If you learn any further intelligence about the strength and motions of the Enemy, which you may think worth regarding; I desire you would lose no time in communicating it to me. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN JAMES HAMILTON

May [17], 1756.

Sir: Yours last night. Let nothing put you off your guard, and be prepared for the worst alarms. I would advise you to remain at Pearsalls until Captain Peytons return from escorting Governor Innes; and then you are to take Captain Minors' post at Kirkendalls; as he is ordered at Colonel Peytons return, also to remove to the South-Branch. I hope there is no need of advising you to be diligent and careful, both in the defence of the people, and in taking proper care of your party. When you hear intelligence of the Enemy worth regarding, lose not one moment in transmitting it to, Sir, Yours, &c.

To ALEXANDER BOYD

Winchester, May 18, 1756.

Sir: You was informed of the insufficiency of your Accompts. before the Committee and desired to make them out more plain and satisfactorily; which I hope you have done as far as you can. You have herewith money sent to pay the Troops and copies of the pay-rolls, and Receipts for payments made the Officers here; in order that you may not make any mistakes in your Settlements with them and the men. As I would have you very exact and precise in all your Accompts. and Disbursements. Otherwise the Committee will not approve of them, nor grant us further Supplies.

You have enclosed a list of Balances due from sundry Officers for Recruiting; which you was to detain in your hands from their pay, according to Colonel Stephens directions after

he settled with them. And as many of the Officers now return to the Fort on purpose to have their Accompts settled: you will be careful to see that they discharge the balances respectively due, before you pay them any money: and take care to bring down with you every recruiting accompt. in Colonel Stephens hand, or these balances you have settled. As to payment of Captain Waggeners Detachment, if you have no opportunity, before you leave the Fort, of sending him the money, I would advise you to bring it with you to Captain Cocks's and desire him to transmit it, with an Escort, to Captain Waggener. There is nothing I am so desirous of, as having distinct, regular and plain accompts to present to the Committee; and the greatest part depends on *yours*. Let me recommend your care to have every thing in a clear light; that no doubts or objections may be raised. Nor must you mix your pay-rolls with contingencies or arrears, as they are each separate articles of accompts. And as you may be hurried in coming away, without having all your accomp't duly settled and stated; I would have you bring all your papers and accompts. down, that they may be properly made out here.

If the money (you now receive) is not enough to discharge the pay due to both Officers and Soldiers; I desire at least the Soldiers may all be paid off to the first of this month; that no murmurs or complaints may be made on that score.

Remember to take Receipts from the Officers of each company for the pay of their men, monthly; and I wish you would endeavour to get receipts for payments made the Soldiers by the Officers, for every month preceeding the Order for taking general and double receipts to the time of my coming into the Service, to lay before the Committee, that they may be convinced no fraud or injustice has been offered the Soldiers, as some take upon them to assert; but that every individual has

received the full pay he had a right to expect. You must likewise exhibit an exact account of all the Stoppages and Deductions from the Soldiers, and how they have been applied. If you find money run short in paying the Soldiers; perhaps you might borrow some from Mr. Woodrow: It shall be repaid him or order on demand, for whatever he helps you to. The money you will receive from Captain Spotswood is three thousand pounds; which I should think sufficient to pay all *off* if you find it does, I desire you would come by Ashby's, Cocks's, and the Detachment at the mouth of the Creek, and also pay them off. If a balance remains in your hand, you must bring it down with you. Nor would I have you make any delay in coming here, as you must immediately go to Conogochieg to settle there; and must continue to send Captain Hogg some money, &c. &c. I am &c.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, May 18, 1756.

Sir: When I wrote to you last, I expected to have been at Fort Cumberland ere this; but the multiplicity of business in which I am engaged, will prevent me *now* until my return from Williamsburgh; which may be sometime hence: as I wait, at this place, the arrival of an association of Gentlemen; who are, I am told by the Governor, to point out the places for Forts to be built on our Frontiers. I am also detained here to construct and erect a fort, which the Governor has ordered to be done with expedition.[68] As it will be necessary to have a number of Carpenters, &c. to carry on the work with *spirit,* and vigour; you are desired to send down all the men of Captain

[68] Washington's plan for this fort, which was called Fort Loudoun, is in the *Washington Papers,* Library of Congress. An extract of the act of the Virginia Legislature, dated May 12, 1756, authorizing the building of the fort, is also in the *Washington Papers.*

George Mercers Company; those that are there of Captain Bells. All the men that are really skilled in masonry: and if all these do not make up fifty; you are to complete the party to that number, out of the best Carpenters in other Companies. The rest, with those who now go up, are to remain under the following Officers; Videlicet. Captains Cocke, Savage and Bronaugh; Lieutenants Lomax, King, Steenbergen, and Gist. Ensigns Thompson, Dangerfield, Price and Roy; which will be leaving an Officer to have the care of each Company. All the rest, with the Adjutant, and as many trusty Sergeants as can be spared; are to be sent down with the party in order to go to Fredericksburgh, and receive the Draughts that will be sent to that place to complete the Regiment. These Orders I expect will be strictly complied with, and the party immediately sent off; as all the Draughts are to rendezvous at Fredericksburgh by the last of this instant.

Let nothing prevent the party from coming off so soon as you receive this; without Mr. Boyd and the Officers who have recruiting accompts. to settle may require a day or two that can be allowed to settle and prepare their Business in order to bring or send those that do not come, their respective accompts. by the Pay-Master; who is ordered down to make a full Settlement for all the money he has received; that I may account with the Committee for my Disbursements. I must desire also that you will commit to his care, all the Accompts. that you settled; together with all other papers that have the least tendency to public concerns. Mr. Boyd will receive by this conveyance three thousand pounds for payment of the Troops; has orders to pay no officers who, upon settlement, fall indebted to the Country and even those that are clear, if they can do without their pay, are desired not to draw for all; if he has not money to pay the Soldiers fully; I want much to pay them off,

to appease murmurs, and silence complaints. I received a Remonstrance of theirs in justification of their Behaviour. Tell them, that I hope their conduct will ever be stimulated by a just sense of their Duty. That Heroick Bravery and Sobriety, influenced by a hearty zeal to serve their Country will always be the standard of their actions, and is the certain means of meriting my regard and esteem, as well as obtaining the love and applause of the Country: while a contrary Behaviour, you may strongly assure them, shall never fail to meet with adequate punishments. Instances of this are now before them of Nathan Lewis, Corporal James Thomas, and Henry Campbell, all under Sentence of Death. The first for his cowardice at the action at Edwards's; the others for desertion. I have a Warrant from the Governor for shooting of Lewis, and shall delay the execution until the arrival of the new Recruits. The others were tried but to-day; and the proceedings of the Court will be sent to the Governor; if he approves the Sentence; I shall make it my particular care to see *them* executed; as I shall every individual that offends in the like cases. * * *[69]

Mr. Dick, who is but just arrived from the northward, says, that Orders are issued for drawing out all the Ammunition and Kings Stores of every kind from Fort Cumberland. Can not you manage, before these Instructions arrive, to furnish the neighbouring Forts plentifully with all these necessaries? De Fever may be worked upon with good management, I dare say, to deliver them. I have sent up a Waggon on purpose to transport a good many of the Tools to this place to carry on the Fort; and beg of you to take particular care in sending them, especially intrenching tools. I would advise you to have all the Arms put into repair, and properly straightened.

Sir John St. Clair, when I was at New York, desired I would send him lists of all those men in the Virginia Regiment who

[69] Omission is an arrangement of troop detail.

were employed in cutting the Road from Fort Cumberland to the Monangehela last year. They will be allowed six-pence per day; and the Officers three shillings; i. e. the Subalterns: The tests for the number of days are to be signed by the Officers. Do speak about it, and have them sent to me, that I may enclose them to the Quarter-Master General. I must desire you will have the Suttlers put under proper restrictions: and order the Officers, as there will be many of them there, to agree and fix reasonable prices upon all Liquors, &c. Do take great pains to prevent all irregularities in the Garrison; but especially those of Drinking, Swearing and Gaming! I could wish to see and find every thing in good order, when the Associators come up; which will be about the last of this instant. The Associators will be composed of a Body of the best Gentlemen in the Country, headed by the Attorney General.[70] Mr. Harvey made me a present of a Marquee', which he left in charge with Mr. Livingston: pray enquire where it is, and order it to be properly secured. Mr. Woodward also gives an Order upon Mr. Livingston for a Bed-stead, formerly General Braddocks; pray desire Mr. Livingston to see it put into the Waggon which brings the Tools, and do not let the Waggon be overloaded with any private baggage, so that the march of the party be thereby retarded. I must desire you will be very cautious in ordering Mr. Boyd to advance money upon any occasion: The Committee do not seem to like it. And I do not know how that matter will be taken; your ordering Captain Gist an hundred pounds: He will fall greatly short when his accompts. are

[70] "The Gentln. Associators being Volunteers at their own Expence, I gave them no Instructions, but recommended them to consult with you what was proper to be done and as they went with great alacrity I doubt not of the readiness to do every Thing that may be for the Service of the Country."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, May 27, 1756.

settled; and I believe is very unable to pay the Balances. Pray what is gone with the Horses that were taken up last Fall? I wish it were possible for you to remove the Stores which are at the mouth of Pattersons Creek to Ashby's Fort. The Country have at last determined to act defensively; and I believe in a little time will entirely abandon Fort Cumberland. *They* have resolved that the Draughts that are now raising, shall not be marched out of the Colony. If you find it impracticable at this time to remove the Stores before spoken of; do endeavour to have that lodgement made as tenable as possible; strengthen the Garrison; and put a more experienced Officer than Mr. Brockenbrough at it; whose youth perhaps may be a means of his doing something inconsistent. If any Officers at the Fort have the prices of necessaries to deduct from the pay of those men that are either at the Branch with Captain Waggener; at Edwards's, Conogochieg, or at this place; they are to enclose lists thereof to their Officers, that such stoppages may be made, for the pay-master will have orders to clear all off. And he is, if it is found any way convenient, to come down the old road, that he may pay off Ashbys Rangers and Cockes's; leave money there to be sent to Waggener; and also to pay off the party posted at Edwards's. Since writing the above, I find it absolutely necessary that the party ordered, should come down by Ashby's &c. for the reasons aforesaid. I also desire that you will by no means fail to send all the Masons at Fort Cumberland even if Captain Mercer and Bells men should exceed fifty. There come up thirteen of the Nottaway Indians, and I recommend them to your care and direction: They may be serviceable with proper management. I promised them a Jacket a-piece; which you must give them, if such things can be procured there. Any other little necessaries may be ordered them;

but take great care to keep them from liquor. I am informed, many of the Soldiers are affected by the wild Sallard they eat: Therefore I would recommend that care should be taken to prevent it. Some of the Volunteers have wrote to me concerning their expectations. Tell them I have no Commissions by me at present; nor do I know what Regulations the Governor will make in the Regiment. There are vacancies which they must fill, but this can not be done, until I go down or hear from the Governor. I am &c.

ADVERTISEMENT

[Winchester, May, 1756.][71]

Whereas I have great reason to believe, the Dangers apprehended from the French and Indian incursions are now pretty much over; none of them being seen or heard of for sometime past; and having certain advice of several parties of them returning over the Alleghany mountains. I take this method of informing and persuading those unfortunate people who were obliged to abandon their Plantation, of their security and necessity to return again. Numbers of the Militia being already, and more will be very soon, so posted and dispersed around the Frontiers. Building Forts, scouting, scouring and pattrolling the woods; that the least appearance of the Enemy will soon be discovered and every necessary measure taken to repel them, and defend the Inhabitants from any danger or trouble. It is to be hoped, that people will pay regard to this notice; if their own interest or the public good can be motives to prevail with them to return and take care of their cattle and Crops. As they will be so well guarded and defended, that with good assistance, they may for the future live in the greatest security and peace.

[71] The date of issue of this notification would be between May 18 and 26.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, May 23, 1756.

Honble. Sir: The method I shall use to inform your Honour of the proceedings of the militia, is to enclose a transcript of my journal[72] that relates to that affair, and to send a copy of a council of war held here by the field-officers of these counties, you were pleased to order to our assistance.[73] There I hope will be sufficient to discover the springs that actuated my conduct.

The spirit of desertion was so remarkable in the militia, that it had a surprising effect upon the regiment, and encouraged many of the soldiers to desert: but as I never had failed in sending officers on different roads upon the first reports, so neither did I neglect it now, and luckily caught two, who being brought to trial, were both convicted, as your Honor will see by the court's proceedings. James Thomas, one of them, was among the first of my followers, and always behaved himself with the greatest sobriety, honesty and diligence, so far as I have ever seen or heard. And I imagine if he did not lose the money, as he says in his defence, he might be prevailed upon to spend a part in liquor, and then was afraid to meet his officer with the rest.

The other criminal, Henry Campbell, is a most atrocious villain, and richly deserves an ignominious death for a former

[72] This journal is not now among the *Washington Papers* in the possession of the Government.

[73] The militia, who had assembled at Winchester upon the recent alarm, had given Washington infinite trouble and anxiety. On this subject Col. William Fairfax wrote to him (May 13): "I am sensible, such a medley of undisciplined militia must create you various troubles, but, having Cæsar's Commentaries, and perhaps Quintus Curtius, you have therein read of greater fatigues, murmurings, mutinies, and defections, than will probably come to your share; though, if any of those casualties should interrupt your quiet, I doubt not but you would bear them with a magnanimity those heroes remarkably did. . . . The Council and Burgesses are mostly your friends; so that if you have not always the particular instructions from the Governor, you may think necessary and desire, the omission, or neglect, may proceed from the confidence entertained of your ability and discretion to act that what is fit and praiseworthy."

as well as the present offence. He was once a sergeant and entrusted with some goods from Alexandria, part of which he embezzled, and, because it could not be absolutely proved, was only reduced. After that (in December last,) he deserted, and carried several men with him; and, upon the most solemn promises of good behaviour, was pardoned, but for this only reason, we had no power to hold general courts martial. And *now* he was instrumental in carrying off seven others, two only of whom were taken. For these reasons I hope your Honor will think him worthy an example against desertion, as Lewis against cowardice, whose execution I have delayed until the arrival of the draughts. These examples and proper encouragement for good behaviour will I hope, bring the soldiers under proper discipline.

I found it absolutely impossible to go to Fort Cumberland at this time, without letting matters of greater importance suffer in my absence here; such a multiplicity of different kinds of business am I at present engaged in. Governor Innes is gone up, who, I hope, will assist with his advice in setting things to rights, if any irregularities have been practised contrary to the custom of the army; but I cannot find by any inquiries that I have been able to make, that there have.

I have ordered a sufficiency of officers to be left at Fort Cumberland, and the rest to repair to this place, in order to proceed to Fredericksburg, agreeably to your Honor's commands. And as soon as the gentlemen Associators arrive here, I shall take that place in my way to Williamsburg, to settle my accounts, and receive more money, which is already scarce with me. I am heartily glad, your Honor has fixed upon those gentlemen to point out the place for erecting of forts, but I am sorry to find their motions so slow.[74] The summer season will be so far

[74] This company appears to have originated among the lawyers and the association was entered into on May 3. On the 8th the governor wrote that "these gentlemen will march from north to south, with your advice, to propose the the proper places to

advanced, that, if we meet with opposition in conducting the work, the difficulties and delays that must attend the execution cannot be described.

It gave me infinite concern to find the Assembly had levied their troops until December only. By the time they shall have entered into the service, they will claim a discharge. To get the least smattering of the duty they cannot, and we find by experience, that our poor and ragged soldiers would kill the most likely militia in five days' marching, so little are the latter acquainted with fatigue. Men would almost as soon have entered the service for seventeen months, as for seven, and in that time I am convinced we could have enlisted them all upon our own terms. As it is, some perhaps may be got. Pray does your Honor approve that they should. One of *those* would be of more worth than two of the *others.*

Your Honor in a letter of the — ult. approved the scheme I sent down for forming the regiment into two battalions of twenty companies, (giving the field-officers each one,) but

erect these forts." They then numbered about 100 men, with the attorney general, Peyton Randolph, at their head. Being volunteers, serving at their own cost, the governor gave them no orders. They marched toward Winchester, but the alarm subsided before they had an opportunity of putting their martial spirit to the test. Mr. Robinson, the speaker, after giving notice to Colonel Washington (May 3) of the organization of this company of gentlemen volunteers and the passage of the bill authorizing the erection of a fort at Winchester, added: "The Council and House of Burgesses have agreed to a representation to his Majesty, in which you and the other officers are recommended to his Majesty's favor. . . . Our hopes, dear George, are all fixed on you for bringing our affairs to a happy issue, and I am very sure if you are properly assisted they wont be disappointed in their Expectations." Sparks quotes from Dinwiddie's Letter-Books, that the governor wrote as follows to Major General Abercrombie (May 28): "As we are told the Earl of Loudoun is to raise three regiments on this continent, on the British establishment, I dearn't venture to trouble him immediately on his arrival with any recommendations; but, good Sir, give me leave to pray your interest with his Lordship in favor of Colonel George Washington, who, I will venture to say, is a very deserving gentleman, and has from the beginning commanded the forces of this dominion. General Braddock had so high an esteem for his merit, that he made him one of his aid-de-camps, and, if he had survived, I believe he would have provided handsomely for him in the regulars. He is a person much beloved here, and he has gone through many hardships in the service, and I really think he has great merit, and believe he can raise more men here, than any one present that I know. If his Lordship will be so kind as to promote him in the British establishment, I think he will answer my recommendation."

never gave any directions concerning the appointment. Nor do I think there can be any plan judiciously concerted, until we know what number of forts are to be built on our frontiers, as the number of our companies must in a great measure depend upon the divisions of the regiment. As the case now stands, there are several vacancies in the regiment, and I have but one blank commission. Though, if I had, I should not think it prudent to fill up more, until matters are a little better regulated.

At this place I have begun the fort according to your orders, and found, as little of the matter as I know myself, that the work would not be conducted, if I was away, which was one among many reasons, that detained me here. I have also ordered Captain Stewart, who commands at Conogochieg, to fortify that place as well as he can, with the tools he can procure, and shall endeavour in all things, so far as I am capable, to act for the best.

Mr. Dick, (who is just returned from the northward,) says, there are orders for drawing out all the ammunition and other stores that belong to the train at Fort Cumberland, and to send them immediately round to New York. I have thought it expedient to give your Honor the earliest advice that you may order accordingly; for should this be done, it will leave that place entirely defenceless, and stop the source that can supply us otherwise. I have given Colonel Stephen previous notice of it, and have desired he will work on the conductor of the train, (in whose care it is left,) to have the forts of Ashby, Cockes &c., plentifully furnished, before such an order arrives. I am, &c.

EVENING ORDERS

[Winchester], May 26, 1756.

As many Draughts are expected up for the Regiment immediately the Commissary is to call in all the Countrys Arms, which he has delivered out of the Stores, upon receipts given to the people. If the people of the Town or Country, have any Arms, clothes, Blankets, &c. &c. belonging to the Soldiers, which they have bought; they are desired to give them in immediately to the commanding officers: If they are found in their possession after issuing this Order; they must expect to be prosecuted to the utmost riguor of the Law; which has laid a penalty of twenty pounds (upon any person who buys or exchanges any Arms, Clothes &c. with a Soldier;) to be paid to the Informer. * * *

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

June 2, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, and observe the contents: The Bearer added, that seven other Indians were seen. This I gave no credit to, as it was not certified in the Letter.

The Assembly have resolved that their Troops shall not march out of the Colony. Whether this is binding on the whole, or only the Draughts, I know not; therefore I would not advise your going into Maryland, unless it be to procure some manifest advantage to Virginia; in keeping the Enemy out of it &c. To range for and search them in another province, I can not think consistent with the intention of the Assembly. Nor is it the design of the Assembly or Governor; as the men

are raised solely for the Defence of the Colony, and not acting in conjunction with other Corps; that Governor Sharpe, or his Officers, shou'd have any connection with them. You are therefore to pay no regard to any Orders that you may receive from him or any other than the Governor of Virginia, myself, or your Superior Officers in the Virginia Regiment. The instant this comes to hand dispatch Captain Gist to this place, that he may settle his recruiting accompt. before I go Williamsburgh. I only wait his arrival; and shall do it impatiently, unless he is expeditious. His stay here may be long: Perhaps he may be ordered to accompany the Associators; therefore he should order his things to follow him.

Captain Bell, with all his men that are here, sets out to-day to join you. Let Sergeant Hughes's Recruit be sent to this place in their room.

The Pay Master attends Captain Bell and will pay off all the Recruits to the first of May. He will also pay Sergeant Hughes's recruiting accompt: and from thence will proceed to Williamsburgh to meet me. Yours &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM COCKE

Winchester, June 4, 1756.

Sir: I received yours, complaining of the irregular method of supplying you with provisions; and communicated the contents to Commissary Walker, who writes you on this head: this directions you must follow. You must make out an accompt. of the pay which is owing to you, and transmit it to me per the first opportunity. Take care to be very vigilant and active; and to communicate all the intelligence that is remarkable and *certain*. You must always, upon any alarm, have regard to the summons of each other; and to unite on all extraordinary occasions. Endeavour at working by stratagem;

to way-lay and surprize the Enemy; rather than seek them in any open pursuit.

I was greatly surprized and angered to hear of the dastardly behaviour of seven of your men, who fled from a less number of the Enemy, without discharging their pieces. Such behaviour merits the fate that some of our men (for the like offence) will soon meet with. And, you may assure your company that they shall not escape unpunished for such Offences. Your parties that go for provision, should always be made strong. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN CHARLES LEWIS

Winchester, June 4, 1756.

You are hereby Ordered to remain at this place until my return from Williamsburgh: unless by any advices from Fort Cumberland, or any other of the Forts it is thought advisable, in a council of War, (which you are to hold of your own Officers) to march to their assistance. In that case, you are to proceed with all the Soldiers, except those of Captain Mercers Company; the Masons, and a few of the best Carpenters of the Draughts; to such place or places as are so infested by the Enemy.

You must be particularly careful that there are exact returns made of the Troops every day, that there may be no more provisions drawn for than is right: and you are to sign all Orders for provisions, and such other absolute necessaries as are required. Captain Peachy will have the overlooking and management of the Workmen and is to be exempted from other Duty. He has orders to draw out as many men daily to work (reserving enough to mount Guard) as can be employed to advantage; and is to have such Officers to assist him, as he shall apply for. All the Soldiers that are unemployed, in the aforesaid Duty, are to be formed into Squads and duly exercies and

regularly trained twice or thrice a-day. You must endeavour to inculate due obedience upon the new Recruits and to discourage Swearing and Drinking. All that are brought to this place you are to receive, and put under proper command and regulation until I arrive, and to take care that none of them desert; if they do, to send immediately after them.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, June 25, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I doubt not but your Honor will be as much surprised, as I have been concerned and vexed, at my stay here.

When I left Williamsburg, I did it with a design to proceed with the utmost expedition to Fort Cumberland. In order thereto I arrived at Fredericksburg to dinner, the day after I left your Honor, at one o'clock, and gave the officer, posted at that place, a list of such tools as were wanted to build the chain of forts, and ordered they might be sent by a wagon, pressed for that purpose, immediately to Winchester, to which place I repaired to get every thing in readiness, and wait their coming to escort them to Fort Cumberland.

After I had been here two or three days I received a letter enclosing a list of the tools from the officer, who informed me that he had, according to order, despatched them in a wagon, hired for that purpose; for which wagon I have been waiting with the greatest impatience and uneasiness imaginable. How to account for this delay I am quite at a loss (as I am certain they were sent) unless the wagoner has lost his horses or run off with the wagon and contents.

I thought it needless to proceed without them, as nothing can be done for want of tools. I have sent two or three expresses to hurry them on, and shall make no delay when they arrive. I intend to take the advice of a council of war, (when I

arrive at Fort Cumberland,) about the line on which these forts are to be erected, &c. and shall visit all the ground that I conveniently can, and direct the building.[75]

It is a work, that must be conducted extremely tedious for these reasons, vizt., the scarcity of tools, smallness of our numbers, and want of conductors. The strength of our forces will not admit of many divisions, because in that case, each party may probably be demolished. We can, therefore, only attempt, with such men as can be drawn out of the garrisons already established, to build fort after fort, and not, by attempting too many at a time, thereby run the risk of having the whole demolished. To go on in the manner above mentioned must be extremely tedious, unless your Honor will be pleased to put the militia that are upon our southern frontiers under the command of Captain Hogg, and order them to begin on the Mayo River, and proceed in their buildings until they meet our parties, which will advance to the southward. I can point out no other method at present to expedite this necessary work. If your Honor approve this scheme, and will let me know by express, I shall despatch another to Captain Hogg, to inform him thereof, and shall enclose him such a plan, as the whole will be directed by. Your Honor's orders to the militia, and indeed to the inhabitants of those parts, to assist with their advice in fixing upon the places, and with their *labour* in forwarding the work, must be absolutely necessary.

Your Honor never gave me a decisive answer to a question I asked, about giving the field-officers companies. For which reason I have presumed to repeat it again, because there are two companies now vacant, by the death of Captain John Mercer, and the resignation of Captain Savage, and should

[75] A copy of the proceedings of this council of war, held July 10, at Fort Cumberland, on the building of these forts, is in Washington's "Letter Book." The original proceedings are in the *Washington Papers*.

either be given to the field-officers, or oldest lieutenants. There is no advantage can possibly arise to the field-officers by having companies, (but trouble there certainly will) as they are allowed, I suppose, the *same* pay *now,* as though they *had.*

The only reason that urges me to repeat it is because I look upon this to be a singular instance to the contrary, and running the country to the additional expense of three supernumerary captains.

Two hundred and forty-six draughts are the total number brought in, out of which number several have deserted. Three were discharged, being quite unfit for service, (and indeed several more *ought* to be, if men were not so scarce,) and there remain now in confinement six Quakers, who will neither bear arms, work, receive provisions or pay, or do any thing that tends, in any respect, to self-defence. I should be glad of your Honor's directions how to proceed with them.[76] I cannot yet return to your Honor the names of the volunteers, that will be appointed to the vacancies, but as soon as I arrive at Fort Cumberland shall acquaint you according to request.

Governor Sharpe is building a fort on Potomac River, about fifteen miles above Conogochieg, which may be of great service towards the protection of our people on that side. It is thought the fort will cost the province of Maryland near thirty thousands pounds, before it is finished.[77] I am, &c.

[76] "If the six Quakers will not fight you must compel them to work on the forts, to carry timber, &c.; if this will not do confine them with a short allowance of bread and water, till you bring them to reason."—*Dinwiddie to Washington,* July 1, 1756.

[77] The Governor and Assembly of Maryland had come at last to a temporary reconciliation of their differences, so far as to agree in a bill for raising £40,000 for his Majesty's service. Of this sum £11,000 were to be appropriated to building a fort on the frontiers, near but not beyond the North Mountain; and £25,000 for carrying on any expedition for the public service, in which the other colonies might join. By the same act the governor was authorized to raise 200 men, to be employed in constructing the fort. (See *Acts of the Maryland Assembly,* May, 1756, and McMahon's *History of Maryland,* vol. 1, p. 305.) The fort was called Fort Frederick. It was a work of considerable magnitude, of a quadrangular form, and constructed of durable materials, situated on an eminence about 500 yards from the Potomac River. Parts of it still remain.

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, July 6, 1756.

Parole Xantippe.

The General Court Martial, whereof Lieutenant Colonel Stephen was President, is dissolved. Colonel Washington has approved of the Sentence of the said Court which was, that Lieutenant King had been guilty of Disobedience of Orders; and consequently of a Breach of the fifth article of the second section of war: But, in consideration of his inexperience, and this being the first Detachment he had the sole command of. They think his being reprimanded by Colonel Washington, at the head of the Battalion, will be a sufficient punishment for this first (though unhappy) fault.

The Regiment is to be under arms this Evening at four o'clock. No Officer nor Soldier off Duty, to be absent. The Articles of War are *then* to be read. * * *[78]

Colonel Washington expressly orders, that no Officer do provide himself with any other kind of Clothes than those ordered the 17th. of September last: as they will not be allowed to appear in them. Every Officer who has not complied with that order, to do it immediately; and they are all to procure Sashes, if to be had. They may be supplied with Hats, and waistcoat lace, at Mr. Peters's, Rock Creek and sword knots. The Quarter Master is to take a man per company, and see the Streets, between the Barracks, well cleaned; the Bog-houses cleaned, and all the filth and garbage near the Fort carried off. All non-commissioned Officers and Soldiers are expressly ordered to wear their hair; which it is expected the Officers will observe; and see that they dress their hair, and appear as soldier-like as possible.

[78] The Articles of War are printed in the *Dinwiddie Papers*, vol. 1, p. 107–109.

As the Uniform ordered in September last at this Garrison, is now fixed upon for the Virginia Regiment; and clothes and all other necessaries for the Soldiers are shortly expected in from Great Britain. It is again requested, that no, Officer will fail to embrace the first opportunity of providing himself with such an uniform.

ORDERS

Fort Cumberland, July 7, 1756.

Parole Yorkshire.

A Detachment of sixty men and ten of the best water-men, to parade immediately and go down the Potomack, to bring back the *Flatt* carried off by the *Fresh*. All the men of the Regiment, except the Draughts, to be under arms this Evening at five o'clock, to go through their Exercise, and afterwards to practise Bush-fighting.

Colonel Washington has observed, that the men of his Regiment are very profane and reprobate. He takes this opportunity of informing them of his great displeasure at such practises; and assures them if they do not leave them off, they shall be severely punished. The Officers are desired, if they hear any many swear, or make use of an oath or execration; to order the Offender twenty-five lashes immediately, without a Court Martial. For the second offence, they will be more severely punished.

The Sergeants are ordered to take notice of the mens Behaviour in their Barracks and endeavour to break them of that ill habit. As the Soldiers have made some complaints of their provision being very bad. The Commissary is ordered to inspect all that he can have the least doubt of and if there is any that can be saved, to put it into fresh pickle; what can not, must immediately be thrown away.

A Return from the several Officers of all the men here, who were in the Engagement with General Braddock at Monongehela, and have not received the five pounds allowed by the Country; is to be given in to Colonel Washington this evening at four of the clock: At which time the men are to wait upon him to receive their allowance.[79]

ORDERS

July 12, 1756.

As there have Orders repeatedly been issued, strictly requiring all Captains and commanding Officers of Companies to take two receipts from each man; one to be entered in a Book, kept for the use of the Company; the other to be sent on a sheet of paper to Colonel Washington, in order to prevent the number of complaints which are hourly made by Soldiers, who deny having received their subsistance. It is therefore peremptorily Ordered *once* more, that all Captains and Commanding Officers of Companies and Detachments, do pay due obedience to this Order: for if they delay sending the receipts until a second payment is made, they will be put under an arrest, and tried for Disobedience of Orders! and the party complaining shall immediately receive satisfaction, without enquiring into the justice of the complaint.

There has also been an Order given for Returns to be made to Colonel Washington of those men who assisted in clearing the Roads last year to Monongehela in order that he might remit them to the Quarter Master General. The men will receive six-pence for every day that they have worked and the Subalterns three Shillings per day. The number of days they

[79] A record of receipts of members of Capt. Thomas Waggener's company, for this premium money, dated July 7, 1756, is in the *Washington Papers*. It seems to be the only one that has survived.

worked to be certified by an Officer. Colonel Washington expects this return to be made as soon as possible, in order that he may serve both the Officers and Soldiers; otherwise he will give himself no further trouble about it.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE

Fort Cumberland, July 13, 1756.

You are to proceed with your Company to the Fort, now commanded by Captain William Cox; and take the command of it until the Militia at Pearsalls, &c. are discharged which will be as soon as Harvest is over.

You must then remove to Pearsalls Forts, and take the command there: During your stay at Cox's, you must escort all Waggons, Expresses, &c. going up as far as Ashbys', and coming down, to Pearsalls. As your own Company and Captain Cox's will furnish a strong party, I would have you send out frequently, and scour the woods *well*. So soon as you arrive at your first post, you are to inform Lieutenant Neugent of the King George Militia; that he with his command, must immediately proceed to John Parkers on the South Branch, who, with the inhabitants about there, is to use his utmost endeavours to protect and assist them, while they are gathering in their Harvest. You may acquaint Captain Cox, that he has my leave to go to Winchester, and he may take the apportunity of the Escort which will be sent down with the Waggons. You are to use your utmost care and endeavours to enlist what men of the company of Rangers you can; but are to give them no more enlisting money than twenty-five shillings. When you remove over to Pearsalls you must send a Subaltern and fifteen men over to Kirkendalls Fort, to keep the inhabitants on that Quarter quiet. By every opportunity you are to transmit me

Accounts of your proceedings and of all occurrencies. I would have you keep up a constant correspondance with those of the other Forts; and transmit what intelligence you receive from each other immediately.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Fort Cumberland, July 13, 1756.

Sir: The companies of the Virginia Regiment are completed to an equal number, except yours, which, through mistake of the returns, is not. But as I expect more men every minute, you shall be immediately completed.

As you have on command with you several men of other companies, the officers have received orders to apply to you for them, and you must deliver them up. I desire you will send James Campbell, the Drummer, by the first escort that comes to Winchester.

From the great confidence I respose in your diligence, I have appointed you to a command, on which much depends; and I doubt not you will see the work carried on with expedition. And I must particularly recommend it to you to keep up a strict command, both over officers and men, as you will be answerable for any delays or neglect which may happen for want of due discipline; and I would not wish your good nature should occasion you to overlook a fault in an officer, who may be your best friend.

As I am informed by the people who met me at Pearsalls, that there is a fort now kept by the country people, about twenty miles from your upper one, in a proper place; if, upon arriving there you find it will do with a little alteration or amendment, I would have you take it in behalf of the country, leave men to garrison it, and so proceed on to the next place.

When you arrive there, you may get all the timbers ready, and by that time I shall send you a plan of the kind of forts I would have you build.

The people whom I have conversed with on the subject, seem to think there will be no difficulty in providing provisions for the men. I would have you provide for these in the same manner you have hitherto done for your own company; and whatever orders you give on that account shall be duly honored. I would have you from time to time transmit me an account of all occurrences.

The governor has ordered the militia to be discharged as soon as harvest is over, since they are so unwilling to continue until December; and should you march on with all the men to building these forts, it might give the inhabitants uneasiness, and raise complaints to be left unguarded. I would, therefore, desire you to leave small parties at proper places to keep them quiet and easy, in case you see occasion for it.

If you have occasion for more ammunition, you must send to Fort Cumberland for what you want.

INSTRUCTIONS FOR CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: As the Assembly has voted a chain of Forts to be built on the Frontiers, the Governor has ordered out the Militia to assist you in erecting them, and it was determined in a Council of War held at Fort Cumberland, agreeably to the Governor's orders,[80] that you should have the care of constructing them, "and that you should receive directions to Build at or about 20 or 30 miles distance, as the situation of the Country requires, or

[80] The proceedings of this council, held July 10, are in the *Washington Papers*, Library of Congress, and are printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 301.

Ground will permit, and to have particular regard to the Body of Inhabitants to be defended, and the passes most frequented by the Enemy, and that Capt. Hogg begin to build, observing the above considerations, to the Southward of Fort Dinwiddie, extending the Line towards Mayo River as directed by Act of Assembly."

You are, therefore, as soon as possible, to proceed to Augusta Court-house and consult with the Comanding Officer, and others of that County, and fall upon the most expeditious methods to raise the Militia, with which and your own Company, except about 30 privates which you are to leave under the Command of Lt. Bullet, at Fort Dinwiddie, and set immediately upon that Duty, take Care to observe the orders herewith sent you by his Honor, the Governor, and to draught the best Work men to take with you.

If you are apprehensive that the Enemy will annoy you, and endeavour to obstruct your erecting those Forts, You are first to proceed to the place which shall be judged most convenient for the defence of the Inhabitants, and Erect your first Fort there, if not, proceed as first directed.

You are, while upon this Work, to keep out constant covering parties, and above all things guard against a surprise.

I have sent you herewith a plan of the kind of Forts you are to build, which you must follow exactly.[81]

The men draughted from your Company for this command will receive double pay for every day they work, which you are to be exact in taking account of. 'Tis the Same that's allowed the soldiers here who work, and the Militia will receive 6d. extraordinary for every day they work. Both Soldiers and Militia *here* are contented with this allowance.

[81] There are several plans of forts, with directions and dimensions, in Washington's writing, in the *Washington Papers*.

I hope your own Company, with the Addition of the Militia, will be of sufficient force to conduct this work, but lest dividing your Men may subject your seperated partys to the insult of the Enemy, I would have you keep in a Body and Build Fort after Fort, leaving Garrisons in them from 15 to 30 men under command of a Subaltern or Trusty Sergeant.

As the difficulty of getting Tools in *these* parts is not easily to be conceived, I would advise you to pursue the same methods in Augusta that I have done here, vizt: to get of the Inhabitants, giving receipts for the Quantity and Sorts of Each, and paying for the use, also the damage and Loss, if any is sustained, but to buy would be best; if this you can do, take particular care of the whole you receive.

To CAPTAIN PETER HOGG

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I received your several letters of the 14th. 25th. and 26th. ultimo, and that of the 3d. of February, enclosing the pay-rolls. Major Lewis, as I before wrote you, received money to pay off the arrears of his company, and you must settle with him. Those of your former company have been paid off here, long since per the paymaster, who will, if you draw upon him for your own (and make it appear they are due) pay you.

I was very much surprized to find Corporal Smith here upon such an Errand. Your suffering such clamours among the men, argues very great remissness in you: I imagined your being put there over them was partly with an intent to keep them quite and passive; but this Express sent purely to humour them, seems as if you were afraid to do your duty among them: and by the subject of your letter it appears to me you were much of the same way of thinking with them, and seem equally dissatisfied.

Let me tell you in your own words that "I was very much surprized" at the contents of your letter, wrote in such a commanding style; and your demands so express and peremptory, that the *direction* was the only thing which gave me the least room even to suspect it could be wrote to any but John Roe, or some other of your menial Servants! I shall always act for the good of the Service, and inform you (when I find it necessary) of my proceedings. Your men have, or *ought* to have, as good Clothes as those here: they received them at the same time, and the same quantity; though you say, they never got but one Shirt, a pair of Stockings, and a pair of Shoes. The rest of the Companies have received none since they did, so they have been misinformed; which I imagine you could have satisfied them of, and of their great mistake in saying the Carolina Companies have been completed with their Clothes. In short after they were dismissed from the parade if their discontents were so high, those who made use of any such speeches as you seem to hint, you ought to know what course to have taken with them, and even the Sergeants, who complained of being worse used than the other Companies and it surprizes me you should overlook it. Clothes, and extremely good ones, are sent for, and may be expected before the cold weather; and they shall immediately receive them: But at this time there is not, nor has been, for these six months past, one suit in the Store.

I have sent you sixty Blankets, sixty Shirts, and sixty pairs of Shoes and Stockings which is all the clothing we have for the men here; as you may be further informed by your Express; and on whom, I suppose, you will more rely. There is a Commissary appointed for the whole; but the great distance you are from us, prevents *his* being of any Service to you. So if you think there is any danger of the Beef being all bought up, you may engage immediately for a sufficiency for your

Company, to be delivered at the proper time for Slaughtering. Beef is cheaper now than it has been for years past. As to McCulley's charge, it must be stopped from the mens pay: I am surprized they had not considered the consequence before they went off: It is too late now to complain. There is part of your recruiting accompt. which much astonishes me; and I thought you nor no Officer, who valued his character, would have presumed to have done such a thing; as he must be certain it would appear as a palpable fraud in him. Three men were enlisted here by Sergeant Wilper; he received both money and provision from me for carrying them up to you; and as that afterwards appeared insufficient, had a further allowance made; and will you after that presume to charge eight-pence per diem, for their subsistance 'till they were delivered to you? Did you pay a farthing on that account? And do you not know the eight pennies were allowed the Officers for the expence of maintaining and marching their Recruits to the Rendezvous? You have been paid these ten months for a full company, and by your returns, have never been complete; I have instructions to allow for no men but those *present:* Therefore I hope you will account for all the non-effective money you have received, by the next opportunity agreeable to your returns. You may deduct your recruiting accompt. out of the money, after striking off the subsistance for three men enlisted by Sergeant Wilper; and recruit your Company with the Balance: if not sufficient, advance your own money, and you shall be repaid.

Lieutenant Bullet is sent to relieve Captain McNeill; who is to proceed to this place with the utmost expedition.

I am sorry to find your conduct *so* disagreeable to all the Officers, as to occasion *two* who were appointed to your Company, to resign; and I belive it would have gone thro' the

Regiment had I only used persuasive arguments to them; or have suffered a third to follow the example. I must therefore desire you will act circumspectly; as I assure you, if I have any just complaints made of you, you may expect to answer them. If these three Sailors can produce three as good, able-bodied men as themselves, and fit for Service, you may discharge them when the others are entertained, but not until *then*. Enclosed you will receive a list of the Tools ordered you from Fredericksburg, and those sent from this place by Lieutenant Bullet's waggon; which are to be employed in the public Service, when wanted, perferable to any others: he conforming to the same Rules and Regulations as others do. The Tools marked *wanting,* are those sent for to Fredericksburg, which I have directed to be sent to the care of Mr. Wright, at Augusta Court-House. Those marked *sent,* are what you will *now* receive. If all these are insufficient to carry on your Works you must provide others in the best manner you can; and the Commissary will pay for them, when drawn upon.

Take care when you engage Beef for your Company. to allow for Pork, if it is to be had. As the Governor sent me *yours* open, I took out a letter enclosed for the commanding Officer of the Militia in Augusta, that he might receive it the sooner. I am Yours &c.

MEMORANDUM

Wrote to Captains Hamilton, Minor, Baylis, Fields; and to Lieutenant Neugent; that the Governour has ordered them and their men to be discharged as soon as the harvest is cut and secured. And ordered them to march through Winchester, to leave the Arms, &c. belonging to the Country.

ORDERS

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Parole Kendall.

As several complaints have been made to Colonel Washington, that the Soldiers do often, at the deserted Plantations and in the woods, take up Horses to ride and carry their Baggage.

He hereby declares, that if any Soldier, upon any pretence whatever, upon any party or post, do presume to take Horses for their own use, they shall be severely punished: And the commanding Officers of parties are ordered to have particular regard to this; and not allow their men to do so for the future.

The Troops are not to march until to-morrow morning.

To CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I have yours of the 27th. ultimo: and in answer, you will observe, that the few men enlisted by the Captains, and the small number now in the Regiment, has much displeased the Governour: So that he has lessened the number of Captains and ordered that the Field Officers should have each a Company: which retards your promotion something longer, until the Majors be established by him. However, you may be assured of my Services for you, and may depend upon your rank being preserved, whenever a vacancy shall fall out for your advancement; however disagreeable it may be to the other Officers.

You are appointed Captain-Lieutenant in my Company. And I desire you may immediately repair to this place to join us. Should be glad you would endeavour to enlist all the able-bodied likely men you can as we want a great many of our Complement. I imagine you are not to be informed, that your

present Office entitles you to the rank of Captain; and exempts you from the Duty of a Subaltern? You may tell Captain Hogg, that another equally good as the *mulatto,* will be as agreeable. I am &c.

To MAJOR JOHN BAYLIS

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: You are to use your utmost endeavours with the men under your command to gather in all the Harvest on the Plantations abandoned by the Inhabitants, and secure it in the best manner you can. You are also to assist the inhabitants about you all you can in collecting their harvest; and guard them while they are about it. Let Captain Hamilton, and the rest of the Officers of the Militia, know the contents of this letter. And they are also ordered to observe the same Directions about where they are posted. Advise the people to tread out the grain with all possible expedition, and bring it within their Forts, to prevent its being burned by the Enemy.

So soon as this service is over, you may acquaint them, that they will all be discharged. As there have been many complaints made to me of the Militia Officers impressing Horses to come down here, and ride about upon their own Business. Let them know it is my orders, that they do not presume to do so for the future; as it is expressly against the Act of Assembly. I am yours, &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Winchester, July 21, 1756.

Sir: I now enclose you the plans promised in my last; which if you observe, you can not possibly err. The one shews the Ground-work or foundation of the Fort. The *other,* the Houses

and conveniences therein: with such plain and easy directions for constructing these Buildings, that you can not mistake the design. You will also receive by Ensign Smith men, to make your Company equal to the rest. I most earnestly recommend diligence to you. You *must* see an indispensable necessity for it.

John Cole, who was appointed to your Company, a Sergeant, has since been broke for neglect of Duty. You will receive *him* as *private* and in his room as Sergeant, Mark Hollies.

Fail not to send down per the first opportunity Campbell the Drummer: nor omit by any conveyance, to transmit me an account of your proceedings. Above all things, guard against Surprizes, by keeping out evening parties to secure your workmen. Your worst men are to be draughted for that duty; reserving the best, to work on the Forts: and they will be allowed double pay for every day they work, of which you and your Officers are to keep accounts. I am &c.

ORDERS

[July 22, 1756.]

One Subaltern, one Sergeant, one Corporal, one Drummer, and thirty privates, to mount this evening, at retreat beating.

Sentries to be posted around the Town, at the most convenient places, and to be relieved every hour. The Officer of the Guard is to go the rounds sometime in the night; and to send the Sergeant and Corporal to the Sentries, between the Reliefs, to see they are alert; and to examine all the public houses, at relieving and visiting the Sentries, and see that no Soldiers are drinking there.

The Soldiers are all to be under arms this evening, half an hour before retreat-beating; when the Officers are to examine theirs arms, and see they are in good *order,* that they are complete with ammunition; and must inform them in case of an

alarm they are all to repair to the Court-House, and draw up under the Hill, before the Court-House door, being the usual alarm-post.

The Adjutant must acquaint all the towns people, that they must not allow the Soldiers to be drunk in their Houses, or sell them any liquor, without an order from a Commissioned Officer; or else they may depend Colonel Washington will prosecute them as the Act of Assembly directs. This caution must be particularly given to the dutch Baker's, John Stewart, and Jacob Sowers.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Winchester, July 22, 1756.

Sir: Herewith I enclose you two plans of the kind of Forts that are intended to be built. One of the ground-work, the other of the houses and all conveniences, with such directions that I think it impossible for you to err if you will attend thereto. Enclosed you will also receive a list of such tools as I have been able to procure, with which and such as you may get of the inhabitants by borrowing, hiring and buying, you must be content. These must be put in the hands of the best tradesmen, and most laborious workmen; who will receive sixpence extra ordinary pay for every day they work, an account whereof must be kept (exactly) by yourself and officers. The men that remain after the workers are draughted, must act as covering parties, to prevent surprizes, against which you must carefully guard. It is impossible for me to fix upon the identical piece of ground to erect this fort on. Therefore, I shall confine you to the most convenient spot, between the mouth of Sleepy Creek and Barracks, which you will make choice of, with the approbation of your officers. There is a hill which overlooks Boyle's field and extensive country round that

may be made infinitely strong, and will answer the purpose well, if it is not *too* high and inaccessible. This you must examine into.

I have too great an opinion of your good sense and discretion to think you need any admonition to induce you to a diligent discharge of your duty. You see our situation, know our danger, and bear witness of the people's sufferings, which are sufficient excitements to a generous mind.

As many things will occur that I cannot possibly direct in, let the interest of the service and your own prudence, assisted by the advice of the officers under your command, be your direction. This instant I received yours of yesterday's date, and am extremely sorry that the Indians have visited us at this critical juncture of harvesting, especially as it will prevent your proceedings in the operations ordered. As your conduct must be guided by the movements and numbers of the enemy, I will not take upon me to order *positively* at this distance, but recommend it to you to consult your officers on all occasions, and act by their advice. If you can learn from good intelligence, that their numbers are great and motions designed for Virginia, endeavor to give the inhabitants notice that they may lodge their women and children, and assist against the enemy.

If you find they are only flying parties of the Indians, I would advise the settlers by no means to neglect their harvest, as their whole support depends upon it, and your assistance to get it in.

I must order above all things that you will send out small parties, or rather single persons, as spies every day, up and down the river for a number of miles, to see if they can make any discovery of the enemy's crossing. I have sent you two barrels of powder, and four boxes of ball. As to cartridge paper, I neither have nor can get any upon no terms. You

must get horns and pouches, if you send over the neighborhood for them. Transmit me constant accounts of the enemy, if they continue in your neighborhood.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Winchester, July 27, 1756.

Sir: I received yours and immediately set the Smith to work about the Tools; which you will receive very soon: but as they are not necessary for beginning the work, need not delay you.

I can not pretend at this time to fix on a day for your march, as the Enemy are about us. It must be left to yourself to determine: If it can be done without leaving the Inhabitants in danger, the sooner you march the better. But if you judge, from the accounts you receive, that they will be exposed by your quitting the place; I would have you remain there sometime longer. I designed to have made the Gate wider, but thought it would cramp the guard-rooms too much: if you think they will be large enough, you may widen the gate. I desire you will send me an exact Return of your Company, agreeable to the enclosed; and I must have weekly returns made me in the usual manner, of your own Company; and direct Captain Gist to the same.

As to providing a Surgeon for your Detachment, it is impossible it can be done. The Committee have only allowed two; who must be kept at this and Fort Cumberland, as there is the greatest number at those two places. I can not pretend to allow the Doctor now with you any thing, unless upon extraordinary occasions. As to the Officers and men doing it, I have no objection. The Surgeon is obliged to furnish medicines for the men. The Commissary will be down with you to consult on

the ways and means of supplying you with provision. As I have no concern with the Provisions nor medicines; you must for the future write to the Commissary and Surgeon upon those heads. I am, &c.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Winchester, July 29, 1756.

Sir: I received yours and much approve of your Halt, as the times are so perilous. The great distance I am from you, and the uncertain motions of the enemy, render it impossible for me to give you peremptory Orders. I would have you, however, not proceed to building the Forts until the Harvest is well secured; in doing which you must give the inhabitants all the assistance in your power. I would then have you move on to the place mentioned in your instructions, about twenty miles above your upper fort, and finish one with all despatch; and then proceed on to the next body of Inhabitants, which I am told is about twenty miles above that, and erect a second. In the meantime I would have you procure the best intelligence you can, of the country between your fort and Dinwiddie; and if you find it then as you represent it to me, halt, after building your second fort, until you receive further Orders from me.

I shall approve of the determination of your Officers in Council, so would have you consult them on all occasions (as I trust you will do the best for the Honor of the Service you are employed in) so must leave you to act as shall be judged most expedient by your Officers, in whom I put great confidence. As you have a pretty considerable force with you, I would have you disperse them in the best manner thro' the Inhabitants; to protect them while they are getting in their Harvest; which I would have secured before you proceed to fort building.

I would have you agree with Colonel Vanmeter, some other person, whom your judge most proper to do the duty of Commissary; who can give good Security for the well discharging his trust; and I will see that he has a reasonable allowance made. I received a petition from some of the inhabitants of the Branch, desiring that some of the Soldiers might be left there to protect them. I wrote you in my last, that Company must remain at their present post; and you may let them know I will leave all the assistance that it is possible, with them, which you must observe, is done.

The great distance and division of our Troops make it impossible to furnish, or even have a Surgeon convenient to every party.

I would advise you to employ some old woman from whom they have often relief; and what you allow her, shall be repaid you. I am, Sir, Yours &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, July 30, 1756.

Parole Tunbridge.

Colonel Washington takes this method to inform the inhabitants of this town, that the Militia will be discharged in a short, time, and consequently the completing of the Fort be much retarded: He therefore hopes, and desires every family in town, will send a man to work upon it; and that every young Fellow, without the charge of a family, will readily give his assistance towards it.

As this public work is intended for the general good of the Country, it is hoped no other arguments need to be used to induce the towns people to contribute their assistance, than the singular advantages which must inevitably arise to this place in particular, both now and hereafter.

The Adjutant must acquaint the Inhabitants of the above Orders, and use his endeavours to enforce them.

SPEECH TO THE TUSCARORAS[82]

[Winchester, August 1, 1756.]

To King Blunt, Capt. Jack, and the Rest of the Tuscarora Chiefs:

Brothers, and Friends, This will be Delivered you by our Tom, a Warrior of the Nottoways, who, with others of that Nation, have distinguished themselves in our service this summer, against our Cruel and perfidious Enemys. The intent of this, is to Assure you of our real Friendship and Love; and to confirm and Strengthen that claim of Friendship, which has subsisted between us for so many ages past, a Chain like ours, founded on Sincere Love, and Friendship, must be strong and lasting, and will I hope endure while Sun and Stars give Light.

Brothers, You can be no strangers to the many Murders and Cruelties; committed on our Country Men, and Friends, by that False and Faithless people the French, who are constantly endeavouring to corrupt the minds of our Friendly Indians; and have Stirr'd up the Shawnese and Delawares, with severall other nations to take up the hatchet against us. And at the head of many of these Indians have invaded our Country, laid waste our lands, plunder'd our plantations, Murdered defenceless Women and Children, and Burnt and destroy'd wherever

[82] The draft of this speech, in the writing of John Kirkpatrick, indorsed with the date of Aug. 1, 1756, is in the *Washington Papers*. The Tuscaroras were originally of the Iroquois Confederacy, but before the advent of the European in America had separated themselves and settled in North Carolina. They were divided into seven clans, and in 1700 occupied 15 villages and numbered about 4,000 souls. In 1711 and 1713 they made desperate war upon the whites, but were subdued and greatly lessened in numbers. The remainder fled northward, and again allied themselves with the Five Nations, constituting the Six Nations, the Iroquois League. In 1763 Sir William Johnson estimated this once powerful tribe to number only 700 souls.

they came; which has enraged our Friends the Six Nations, Cherokees, Nottoways, Catawbas, and all our Indian Allies, and prompted them to take up the Hatchet in our deffence, against these disturbers of the Common peace.

I hope, Brothers, you will likewise take up the Hatchet, against the French and their Indians, as our other Friends have done, and Send us some of your Young Men, to protect our Frontiers, and go to War with us, against our restless and Ambitious Foes. And to encourage Your brave Warriors, I promise to furnish them w' Arms, Amunition, Cloths, provision, and every necessary for War, And the Sooner you Send them to our asistance, the greater mark will you give us of your Friendship; and the better shall we be enabled to take just Revenge of their Cruelties.

May You Live Long, a happy and prosperous people, and may we Act with mutual Love and Friendship. While Rivers run, or Trees grow; is the sincere Wish, of Your Friend and Brother

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In confirmation of the above and in hopes of your Complyance w'. my request; I give you this String of Wampum.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, August 4, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Giving the necessary orders and directions, about the chain of forts to be built on the frontiers, has kept me so closely employed, that I could not write fully to your Honor until this. But I have got that trouble *now* pretty well off my hands, as I have despatched orders, plans, and tools to all the officers appointed to that duty.

By the enclosed council held at Fort Cumberland, you will see our determination, there and where it is necessary to erect

the forts. Although we have not kept strictly to the act of Assembly, I hope it will be overlooked, as I am sensible that this will be the best chain that can possibly be erected for the defence of the people, and that the Assembly aimed at that, but, being unacquainted with the situation of the country, had fallen into an error. Agreeable to this council the chain is ordered to be built.

Your Honor, by the enclosed rolls of the companies, may see their present establishment; and I send you a copy of their former one, agreeable to your orders, together with the number of drafts from each county delivered at Fredericksburg. But many of them deserted on their march to this place, and after their arrival here; so we are short of that number now. What remain, are divided among the companies, to make them equal.

Captains Hogg and Waggener's rolls I cannot yet send, as they are not come to hand.

The two vacant companies, Captain Savage's and the late John Mercer's, as I had your Honor's approbation for the field officers having companies, are disposed of to Colonel Stephen and myself. The next vacancy the Major must fill.

I am very glad your Honor intends to order the drafts now to be made to be sent here. Prince William, Fairfax and Culpeper, are more convenient to this place than Fredericksburg. Then their being ordered here saves a ninety miles march.

I make no doubt, that your Honor has ere this heard of the defeat of Lieutenant Rutherford[83] of the Rangers, escorting an express to me at Fort Cumberland, and of the dastardly behaviour of the militia, who ran off without one half of them

[83] John Rutherford, of prominence in New York, where he had been a member of the council, had come to Virginia with the independent company in 1754. He was afterwards a major in the Royal American Regiment and was killed before Ticonderoga in 1758.—*Ford.*

having discharged their pieces, altho they were apprised of the ambuscade by one of the flanking partys, before the Indians fired upon them; and ran back to Ashby's Fort, contrary to orders, persuasions, threats, &c. They are all ordered in, as soon as the people have secured their harvest. Those of King George and Caroline are already here. The rest I expect shortly. Through the *passive* behaviour of their officers they have been very refractory.

Captain Stewart's troop has for these twelve months past, and must still continue to do duty on foot. Their pay is very great. I should be glad of your Honor's orders in regard to them, whether they are to be continued. I think with the number of men we have, there is but a poor prospect of finishing our forts in time, and a much worse of defending our frontiers properly, and I would be glad some expedient could be fallen upon to augment it.

There is an act of Parliament to allow all servants to enlist, and the owners to be paid a reasonable allowance for them. If we had this privilege, we could soon complete the regiment; and I doubt not but his Majesty would order them to be paid for, if we enlisted, as soon as for the regulars; nay, should he not, the ten pounds' fine through the country would go a considerable way towards it.[84] And this we may depend upon, if we have not this liberty granted us, the servants will all run off to the regular officers, who are recruiting about us; and that would be to weaken our colony much, when it could receive no immediate benefit from it, but only be benefited in a general way. For my part, I see no other expedient.[85]

[84] The act of assembly allowed a person drafted to pay £10 and escape service. The result was that most of the drafts paid the fine and the companies remained unfilled.

[85] The question of enlisting indented servants—that is, immigrants who had hired themselves for a term of years to repay the money that had been advanced for their passage—proved a knotty problem to the Colonies. When completing the regiments after Braddock's defeat, the recruiting officers did not hesitate to take such servants,

Now your Honor sees plainly the effect the act of Assembly, in regard to the draughts has had; and how little our strength has been augmented by that scheme, and in three or four months we shall not be the better for them. Then they are to be discharged.

I am confident, if we had authority to enlist servants, the regiment would have been complete ere this, and with little trouble, for many have offered, and many have been discharged after enlisting. Mr. Kirkpatrick will deliver your Honor a list of the preferments in my Regiment, with the dates of the officers commissions. There are five or six more still waiting.

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often secretly and generally without making recompense to the masters. In Maryland the planters of the eastern shore were so incensed by such acts that they attacked the recruiting officers and "some blood was spilt." Gen. and Gov. William Shirley, though he could cite the example of Massachusetts, where indented servants had been impressed and used for garrisoning the frontier forts, was convinced of its impolicy when applied to the middle colonies. The Assembly of Pennsylvania earnestly protested against the practice. (See *Pennsylvania Colonial Records,* vol. 7, p. 37.) And Franklin, in his draft of instructions for the agents of the Colonies (*Works,* vol. 2, pp. 491, 492, 513) instanced it as one of the grievances of which the province had cause to complain. "You must know that most of the servants in this country are more particularly their masters' property, than they are in any other parts of his Majesty's dominions, and that masters of such servants will easily resign their interest in them cannot, I think, be expected."—J. Ridout in *Pennsylvania Archives,* vol. 2, p. 734. In Virginia such servants were expressly exempted from military duty, but slaves appear to have been taken.—*Ford.*

When Lord Loudoun succeeded Governor Shirley as commander of the forces in America, he was empowered to raise a regiment in the Colonies, consisting of four battalions, to be commanded by officers bearing the King's commission, and called the Royal American Regiment. He was authorized, also, to enlist servants of the above description, paying to their masters a proper compensation for the time they had yet to serve. Recruiting officers were now employed in Virginia, enlisting men for the Royal Regiment, and interfered essentially with the enlistments for the service of the colony. The governor endeavored to prevail on the assembly to draft militia for this regiment, but without success. They voted £8,000 to be paid for enlisting men and transporting them to New York.

The Maryland Assembly appropriated £5,000 to aid enlistments in that colony for the Royal Regiment and resolved to raise 300 men. A bounty was given not exceeding £5 for each man enlisted. A letter was received by the governor from Henry Fox, one of his Majesty's principal secretaries of state, directing that the compensation to masters for enlisted servants should be paid by the colony; but the assembly refused to comply with this order by a majority of more than 2 to 1. (See *Votes and Proceedings,* Aug. 19, 1756.) Governor Dinwiddie said in reply: "If you can enlist servants agreeable to the act of Parliament, the master of such servant shall be paid for the time they have to serve in proportion to the first purchase, but I think you should be careful not to enlist convicts, who may be fractious and bad examples to the others."—*Sparks.*

Lieutenant Stark has followed Frazier's example, upon the like occasion, being appointed to Captain Hogg's company.

I have sent Lieutenant Bullet to relieve Lieutenant McNeill, whose seniority entitles him to Captain-Lieutenancy, and he has my promise when a vacancy happens to have his commission antedated, and to take his proper rank in the regiment, as I take him to be a very diligent good officer, and as he was overlooked in the promotions, this indulgence has been promised him.

I could wish we were clear of Fort Cumberland. It takes a great part of our small force to garrison it, and I see no service it is to our colony; for since the Indians have drove the inhabitants so low down, they do not hesitate to follow them as far as Conogochiege and this place. There have been several families murdered within two miles of the mouth of Conogochiege, on the Maryland side, this week; and Fort Cumberland is now so much out of the way, that they seldom hear of those things within a month after they are done. Our men want many necessaries, until the arrival of their regimentals, which cannot be had without sending to Philadelphia; and the great loss, we shall suffer by sending them our paper money, has prevented my purchasing these things, until the men are almost naked.

I should be glad your Honor would send me a letter of credit to Mr. Allen, or some person there; or gold or bills, for we cannot afford to put up with the loss of sending paper money, which I am credibly informed, may be bought up in Philadelphia for fifteen per cent *their* currency; so that the least we would lose by that traffic would be ten per cent.

We are in great want of drums here, and none can be bought. We now have many young drummers learning here, so I must beg you will please to order some immediately from Williamsburg to us, for we cannot do without them.

The rangers are still paid out of the money in my hands. I never received but one hundred pounds from Lord Fairfax, or Colonel George.

Captain Gist has some accompts. against the Country for necessary services. I doubt not your Honor will consider the justice of them, and assist the poor man in the affair, as he is put to great inconveniences for want of the money, has been obliged to advance his own, as far as it would go, and people to whom he owes balances upon that account are daily threatening him with suits.

Captain McNeill writes me that out of the three companies of rangers on the frontiers of Augusta, which ought to be one hundred and twenty men, there are not thirty. I hope your Honor will have that affair inquired into.

I am to be summoned against one Napp for making counterfeit paper money here. I desire your directions, whether I must appear or not. It may, perhaps, be at a time when I am much wanted here.

I could by no means bring the Quakers to any terms. They chose rather to be whipped to death than bear arms, or lend us any assistance whatever upon the fort, or any thing of self-defence. Some of their friends have been security for their appearance, when they are called for; and I have released them from the guard-house until I receive further orders from your Honour, which they have agreed to apply for.[86]

I am informed there has been application made to your Honor, for the discharge of some of the militia who enlisted here. As the case may have been represented to your Honor

[86] "I believe you will not be summoned on Napp's Affair, . . . as I shall be glad you were here about the 20th of Nov. . . . A great body of Quakers waited on me, in regard to their friends with you, praying they may not be whipped. Use them with lenity, but as they are at their own expense I would have them remain as long as the other Draughts."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in full in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 342.

in a wrong light by prejudiced persons, I shall give you a true state of it, from my own knowledge.

After the militia were fixed on to march to their different posts, it was common for twenty or more to desert of a night. In consequence of which I despatched the militia officers with what remained, and some of my own officers in pursuit of these deserters, who apprehended seventeen or eighteen of them and brought them to town. The militia had then marched. To send these men after them I was certain would not answer; to avoid that, was the cause of their desertion. And I could not spare men to send an escort with them to their different parties; and if I had let them pass unpunished, it would have occasioned all the militia at work on the fort to desert. So I thought it most advisable to punish them, to deter the rest, and prevent a second fault in them, and accordingly ordered them twenty lashes each, and then intended to have set them to work on the fort.

When they had marched from the guard-house (where several had enlisted before any punishment was ordered them) some of the officers applied for money, and said all the militia would enlist; which I gave them, and at the same time a charge, to use no unfair means or threats, which they engaged.

In order to prevent any, I sent out Captain Mercer to acquaint them with my charge to the officers, and to tell them, that if any unfair means had been made use of to engage them to take the money, to declare it, and they should be allowed to return it, and further be acquainted with the indulgence allowed them by Act of Parliament; and that they had a right to return the money within twenty four hours, if they should repent of what they had done in that time. They *all* declared their willingness to enlist, said no unfair means had been made use of, and that it was better to enlist at once than to be subject

to be draughted every week. When they were soldiers they knew what to depend upon, which they could not before, as their being draughted at an unseasonable time might ruin them. They used the same arguments again to Captain Mercer, when he read the Articles of War to them; and he again repeated what he had told them before in the morning, as I have been assured by several of the officers then present.

The men have always appeared well satisfied, and never have made the least complaint; nor will not, I am sensible, if they are not persuaded to it by the people below. They have now been enlisted upwards of ten weeks, and are very good men, upon the whole.

I dare say your Honor will judge the men to be fairly enlisted, and that they are no ways entitled to a discharge, which will be applied for by some gentlemen below. But I shall take your Honor's directions on that point.

In obedience to your Honor's commands to incorporate the rangers into the regiment, I gave furloughs to the Captains (who both desired it) knowing they would oppose any measures to enlist the men; and then sent some of my officers to use their influence to engage the men. Their success I have not yet heard of, but should be glad to know if you approve of this method, or will direct any other. As rangers under the present establishment, they are of no use or benefit to the country. This, I believe, your Honor, as well as the country, have long since been convinced of.

I have supplied the Nottoway Indians with some necessaries, and have allowed them to take their arms with them; but they have received no pay, and say they were *promised* a Bitt[87] per day. Captain Tom has promised to go to the Tusks with a speech and wampum, which I have given them. He says they

[87] A small piece of silver, probably the Spanish eighth of a dollar, or twelve and a half cents.—*Sparks.*

have an hundred fighting-men to spare. They would be a great assistance to us, if they could be engaged to come.

Besides the men on the rolls sent your Honor, there are about one hundred draught, not disposed of in the different companies which are at work on the fort, and garrisoning some of the country forts.

I have just received your Honor's letter of the 12th ultimo. If Mr. Timberlake will enter as a volunteer in the regiment, and wait, as others have done, his turn, I shall be glad to serve him. But I cannot pretend to put him over young gentlemen who have served some months at their own expence, waiting preferment, without orders from your Honor; as such things have caused the greatest discontent and confusion in the regiment already.

I observe your Honor's proposal to Lord Loudoun[88] of carrying on an expedition against the Ohio. I have always thought it the best and *only* method to put a stop to the incursions of the enemy, as they would *then* be obliged to stay at home to defend their own possessions. But we are quite unprepared for such an undertaking. If it is fixed upon, *now* is the time for buying up provisions, and laying them in at the most convenient place. The Pennsylvania butchers are buying quantities of beef *here,* which should be put a stop to, if we are to march towards the Ohio. If we are still to remain on the defensive, and garrison the chain of forts, provisions must be laid in at each of them; and I much fear, if we march from the frontiers, all the inhabitants will quit their plantations. Your Honor's sentiments and orders on this head will be very agreeable to me, and shall be punctually complied with. By the latest advices from Augusta, it is thought that these outrages were committed by the Cherokees. There have been no accounts of any thing since the first

[88] The Earl of Loudoun had been appointed by the King to command in America.

attempt; but still, I think it would not be improper to keep the militia on the frontiers to oppose a second; and if your Honor should think it proper to order them to assist on the forts to be built in Augusta, I think they could not better employ their time.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Dear Sir: I hope you will not be surprized at my sudden demands for money, nor at the uncommon length of this epistle.

The five thousand pounds last received went chiefly in paying arrears which were due the soldiers for two months before; discharging sundry accompts. for necessaries for the regiment; with many other things, as will appear per accompts. And the disappointments I have so often met with in settling my accompts. with the gentlemen of the Committee, and laying sundry matters before them for their approbation, oblige me to be more particular and prolix in this letter.

I flatter myself that my accompts. will appear in so clear a light that there can arise no scruple in the settlement, and that they may be adjusted in as full and distinct a manner by Mr. Kirkpatrick, as if I were present myself. There were some objections made to a few trifling articles before (none of which I believe exceeded twenty shillings) for want of receipts. In this I own I was a little remiss, sometimes paying horse hire for a day or two, and such like incidental charges for the use of the public, without thinking it very material to draw receipts. Indeed, I have often made those payments at times when I had no opportunity of being thus particular. But I believe the whole amount of these does not exceed five pounds, and since that time I have not parted with a sixpence *without*. The paymaster I have sent down to evince any doubts that may arise

in his accompts. I believe they are strictly just, tho' a little broken and irregular, representing our disjointed service in a *true* state. This was impossible to be avoided; tho' if you will consider, Sir, the disagreeable services we have been engaged in, the extent of ground and people to be defended, and the division of our force in recruiting, marching, counter-marching, and garrisoning of forts, guarding stores, &c, which rendered them so extremely difficult to pay, as well as to supply with such necessaries and conveniences, as to render the service tolerably supportable. Mr. Boyd was obliged to pay the men when and where he could meet with them, without adhering to that regular form which ought to be observed. The Commissary stands charged with £——, which I have not had an opportunity to settle. Upon my return from Fort Cumberland a few days ago, I found him retired at his own house, indisposed; but received a letter informing that the money was just expended. This I have no doubt of, knowing the demands he has had on account of provisions for the draughts and militia (occasioned by our whole stock being laid in at Fort Cumberland by the Governor's orders; which renders it useless to all the forces on this side); wagonage of all the flour and stores from Conogochieg, to secure them here; purchasing of tools, &c; for erecting the public works, ordered by Act of Assembly, &c.

All accompts. that appeared extravagant or not clear in other respects, or that I conceived I had no power to settle, I have referred them to the gentlemen of the Committee. Among these is Finnie's, for money advanced the soldiers while he was recruiting. This accompt may be, and doubtless is just; yet as it happened at a time when I had no concern with the forces, it is not to be expected I can have any knowledge of the matter. Therefore, unless it was to meet with your, or the concurrence of the Committee, I should not care to pay it. Moses Quales,

who gives Mr. Finnie an order upon you for five pounds eighteen shillings, was among those who escaped from the overthrow of General Braddock, but was slain in Captain Mercer's defeat.

Captain McKenzie's accompt. for the hire of a vessel to transport his recruits to Alexandria, I did not care to allow without directions; tho' several officers have petitioned in the same manner, because they were to receive two pistoles a man, and eight pence per day subsistence, as a full allowance (tho' quite too small) until they came to the rendezvous.

The article of rugs, he should be allowed. Doctor Shepherd also prefers an account for attending and administering to sundry recruits while they lay at Alexandria: as also Dr. Halkerson for those at Fredericksburg. These accompts you will please to have examined, and deliver your sentiments thereon.

Ensign Fleming has, at my request, acted as surgeon to Captain Hogg's company. He encloses an accompt. Pray order what you think sufficient for his trouble. Lieutenant Baker's accompt is also among these for twenty-three pounds, nine shillings and eleven pence; expences in going for and bringing the Nottaway Indians. In this I must crave directions. I could not get a more particular accompt than the one now sent, he being on command. Captain Gist also has at divers times entreated me, in the most interesting manner, to intercede in his behalf, that he may get the balance of his accompt, his distresses calling aloud for all the assistance that all these sums can contribute. I do not know really, who to apply to for this purpose, or whose right it is to pay the accompt, but it is certainly wrong not to pay him at all. If a hearty zeal for the interest of this colony, many losses in serving it and true distress, can recommend him to any favor, he certainly merits indulgence. When he offers his accompts. to the Governor, his Honor bids him go to the committee; and the gentlemen of the committee

think the Governor should pay it. So that the poor man suffers greatly and would be glad to know his doom at once, as it has been so long depending. Many applications have been made to me for the ferriages of the forces in passing Shenandoah, Capecapon, the South Branch &c. I should be glad to know whether they are to be paid, and at what rates. I could heartily wish the governor and Committee would resolve me, whether Fort Cumberland is to be garrisoned with any of the Virginia forces or not. It lies in a most defenceless posture, and I do not care to be at expence in erecting *new,* or repairing the old works, until I am satisfied in this point.

This place at present contains all our provisions and valuable stores, and is not capable of an hour's defence, if the enemy were to bring only one single half-pounder against it; which they might do with great ease on horseback. Besides, it lies so remote *now* from this, as well as the neighbouring inhabitants, and at the same time is not a whit more convenient than Cocke's Fort, on Patterson's Creek, to the enemy, which is twenty five miles nigher this way, that it requires as much force to keep the communication open to it, as a fort at the Meadows would do, and employs 150 men, who are a *dead* charge to the country, as they can be of no other use than just to protect and guard the stores, which might as well be lodged at Cox's;[89] indeed better, for these reasons it would then be more contiguous to this, to the inhabitants, and to the enemy, if we should ever carry an expedition over the mountains, by opening a road the way the Indians have *blazed.*[90] A strong garrison there would not only protect the stores, but also the few remaining inhabitants on the Branch,[91] and at the same

[89] This fort was on Pattersons Creek, 25 miles from Fort Cumberland.

[90] Blazing consists in stripping a vertical piece of bark from the tree trunk so the white wood shows; each blaze was within sight of the other and an experienced woodsmen could travel by such direction without hesitation.

[91] The South Branch of the Potomac.

time waylay and annoy the enemy, as they pass and repass the mountains. Whereas, those at Fort Cumberland, lying out in a corner, quite remote from the inhabitants, to where the Indians always repair to do their murders, can have no intelligence of any thing that is doing, but remain in total ignorance of all transactions. When I was down, I applied to the Governor for his particular and positive directions in this affair. The following is an exact copy of his answer. "Fort Cumberland is a King's fort, and built chiefly at the charge of the colony, therefore properly under our direction, until a governor is appointed."[92] Now whether I am to understand this ay or no, to the plain, simple question asked, vizt. "Is the fort to be continued or removed?" I know not. But in all important matters I am directed in this ambiguous and uncertain way.[93]

Great and inconceivable difficulties arise in the execution of my commands, as well as infinite loss and disrepute to the service, by my not having power to pay for deserters. I would, therefore, humbly recommend it to the consideration of the Committee, whether it would not be more for the interest of the country, (I am sure it would be of the service,) were I allowed to pay these demands, rather than have them levied in the public claims. Many of our deserters are apprehended in Maryland, and some in Pennsylvania, and, for the sake of a reward, are brought hither. But when they are to receive certificates only, that they are entitled to two hundred pounds of tobacco, and those certificates are to be given in to a court of

[92] Both Sparks and Ford put Washington in the wrong. The original letter is in the *Washington Papers*, and Washington's quotation is exact and correct.

[93] "The Committee were all of opinion with you, that the keeping Fort Cumberland was an unnecessary expense; but upon my mentioning their opinion to the Governor, he appeared very warm, and said my Lord Loudoun might do what he pleased, but for his part he would not remove the garrison, or order the fort to be demolished for his right hand."—*Robinson to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 349.

claims, there to lie perhaps till they are quite forgot, gives so much dissatisfaction, that many, I believe, rather than apprehend *one,* would aid *fifty* to escape, and this, too, among our own people. By this means the country loses numbers of men: consequently the sums of money which each man costs, besides many incident charges, such as horse hire, expenses in sending after and advertising them.

Another thing, I should be glad to know, and that is, whether the act of Assembly prohibits the whole forces, or only the draughts, from marching out of Virginia, and whether it is contrary to law, even to take the draughts out, provided it is done with their own *will.* If we cannot take any of the forces out of the colony, the disadvantages, the country may labor under, are not to be described; for the enemy, in that case, may commit the most unheard-of cruelties, and, by stepping across the Potomac, evade the pursuit, and mock our best endeavors to scourge them.

The inconveniences that arise from paying the soldiers in large bills, are not to be conceived. We are obliged afterwards to give the pay of two or three soldiers to one man. He, ten to one else, drinks, games, or pays it away; by which means the parties are all dissatisfied, and perpetually complaining for want of their pay. It also prevents them from laying out their pay for absolute necessaries, and obliges them many times to drink it out; for they put it into the tavern-keeper's hands, who will give no change, unless they consent to take the greatest part in liquor. In short, for five shillings *cash* you may at any time purchase a month's pay from the soldiers; in such contempt do they hold the currency. Besides small bills, (if the thing is practicable,) I should be extremely glad to receive some part of the money in Spanish and Portugal gold and silver. There are many things wanted for the use of the regiment,

which cannot be had here, and may at Philadelphia; but their undervaluing of our money, has prevented my sending thither.

When I went to Fort Cumberland I left fifty pounds with Capt. Peachy, to pay the workmen once a week, as I had usually done, which money, with some of his own, he was robbed of, and the most diligent search has not been successful in getting the least intelligence of it. I should be glad to know whether I am to suffer this loss, or whether I may with propriety charge it to the country?

At the repeated instances of the soldiers, I must pay so much regard to their representations, as to transmit their complaints. They think it extremely hard, as it is indeed, Sir, that *they,* who perhaps do more duty, and undergo more fatigue and hardship, from the nature of the service and situation of the country, than any troops upon the continent beside should be allowed the *least pay,* and smallest encouragements in other respects. The Carolinians received British pay; the Marylanders, I believe, do the same; Pennsylvania is exorbitant in rewarding their soldiers;[94] the Jerseys and New Yorkers, I do not remember what it is they give; but the New England governments give more than a shilling per day, our money, besides an allowance of rum, peas, tobacco, ginger, vinegar, &c, &c.

Our soldiers complain, that their pay is insufficient, even to furnish shoes, shirts, stockings, &c, which their officers, in order to keep them fit for duty, oblige them to provide. This, they say, deprives them of the means of purchasing any of the conveniences or necessaries of life, and obliges them to drag through a disagreeable service, in the most disagreeable manner. That their pay will not afford more than enough (if that) to keep them in clothes, I should be convinced of for these reasons, if experience had not taught me. The British soldiers are

[94] Pennsylvania was paying its soldiers 18d. a day and subsistence.—*Ford.*

allowed eight pence sterling per day, with many necessaries that ours are not, and can buy what is requisite upon the cheapest terms; and lie one half the year in camp or garrison, when they cannot consume the fifth part of what ours do in continual marches over mountains, rocks, rivers, &c, is computed to receive only — per day. Then, Sir, is it possible that our men, who receive a fourth less, have two pence per day stoppages for their regimental clothing, and all other stoppages made that British soldiers have, and are obliged, by being in continual action, to lay in triple the quantity of ammunition and clothes, and at double the price, should be able to clear quarters? It is *not* to be done, and this is the reason why the men have always been so naked and bare of clothes.

And I dare say you will be candid enough to allow, that there are few men who would choose to have their lives exposed, without some view or hope of a reward, to the incessant insults of a merciless enemy. Another thing there is which gives them great uneasiness, and that is, seeing no regular provision made for the maimed and wounded. They acknowledge the generosity of the Assembly, and have the highest veneration for that respectable House; they look with gratitude on the care, that has been taken of their brother soldiers; but say, this is only an act of *will,* and another Assembly may be much less liberal. We have no certainty, that this generosity may continue, consequently can have nothing in view but the most gloomy prospects, and no encouragement to be bold and active; and the probable effects of which are wounds, which no sooner happen and they unfit for service than they are discharged, and turned upon an uncharitable world to beg, steal, or starve! In short, they have a true sense of all that can happen, and do not think slightly of the fatigues they encounter, in scouring these mountains with their provisions

on their backs, lying out and watching for the enemy, with no other covering or conveniency to shelter them from the inclemency of the weather, than trees and rocks! The old soldiers are affected, and complain of their hardships and *little* encouragement in piteous terms; and give these as reasons for so much desertion. The money that is given in paying for deserters, expresses, horse-hire, losses and abuse of horses, would go a great length toward advancing their pay, which I hope would contribute not a little towards removing the cause of this expense. I would not have it here understood, tho', that I mean to recommend any thing extraordinary; no, I would give them British pay, and entitle them to the same privileges during their stay in the service, and as a reward or compliment for their toil, rather than a matter of right. Were the country to give them one suit of regimental clothes a year, without receiving the two pence stoppage, it would be a full allowance, and give great content and satisfaction. All they want (they say) is to be entitled to the privileges and immunities of soldiers, of which they are well informed, by some who have been a number of years in the army, then they should think it no hardship to be subject to the punishments and fatigues. Were this done, and an order given by the Committee empowering me to provide for them, according to the rules and customs of the army, I then should know what I was about, and could do it without hesitation or fear, and, am convinced, to the satisfaction and interest of the country. As the case *now* stands, we are upon such odd establishment, under such uncertain regulations, and subject to so much inconvenience, that I am wandering in a wilderness of difficulties, and am ignorant of the ways to extricate myself, and to steer for the satisfaction of the country, the soldiers, or myself.

Having no certain rules for the direction of my conduct, I am afraid to turn to this hand or to that, lest it should be censured. If such an order, as I before spoke of, was to issue from your Board, I would then immediately provide upon the best terms a quantity of all kinds of ammunition, clothes, &c. for the use of the regiment, and deliver them out to each company, as their wants required, taking care to deduct the value of all such things from their pay. By this means the soldiers are always provided and fit for duty, and do it cheerfully, and the country sustains no other loss, than advancing and lying out of the money for a few months to lay in those stores, as this money is always restored by the soldiers again.[95]

I have hitherto been afraid to advance any sums of money for this salutary purpose, and always bought at extravagant prices, and have been obliged to send to different parts, ere they could be had, which has also contributed to the cause of their nakedness. The officers are almost as uneasy and dispirited as the men, doing every part of duty with languor and indifference. When they are ordered to provide themselves with suitable necessaries, they complain of an uncertain establishment, and the probability of being disbanded, and so, things rendered useless. So that I really most heartily wish for a change. The surgeon has entreated me to mention his case, which I shall do by enclosing his letters. He has behaved extremely well, and discharged his duty, in every capacity, since he came to the regiment. He has long discovered an inclination to quit the service, the encouragement being so small; and I believe would have done it, had not the officers, to show their regard and willingness to detain him, subscribed each one day's pay in

[95] These requests, in regard to the soldiers, were so far complied with, that the soldiers afterwards received full pay without any stoppage for their clothing. (See Washington's letter to Adam Stephen, September 6, *post*.)

every month. This, as they are likely to be so much dispersed, and can receive no benefit from him, they intend to withdraw, (he says) and therefore begs me to solicit the gentlemen of the Committee in his behalf; otherwise he shall be obliged to seek some other method of getting his livelihood.

If it is thought necessary to establish an hospital, I believe there can scarcely be a doubt but that this is the place; and then I hope he will be appointed director, with advanced pay. Whether or not, I could really wish his pay or perquisites was increased, for the reasons he gives.

I beg, Sir, with very great earnestness, that the gentlemen of the Committee will communicate their sentiments fully upon all these several matters, and approve or disapprove of every thing therein. I only wait to know their intention, and then act in strict conformity thereto.

Since writing the preceding pages, I find on examining Mr. Boyd's accompts. that he has unadvisably paid Mr. Finnie[96] what arrears were due Quales. But having already appealed for approbation of the Committee in this and other accompts, which I had no distinct knowledge of, or concern in, I yet submit to your determination, and Mr. Finnie must abide by your judgment, and refund if found reasonable.

If the Committee find my account satisfactory and distinct, as I have no doubt of it, it would be a great obligation, if they would make a final settlement to that date, and begin a new account, as it would be the means of keeping matters more clear and intelligible hereafter. For long accounts and references to doubtful points, instead of gaining any light, are but darkened and confused by procrastination. The late regulation of our companies will occasion more regularity in the paymaster's account, and be more satisfactory in every shape, for

[96] Alexander Finnie.

the future. Besides, the gentlemen of the Committee will find little trouble, or difficulty, in overhauling short accounts, kept in a regular method, plain and perspicuous, which is the very life of business.

I would again entreat your regard to my request, for these and many other reasons. I am, etc.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: I have so many places and people to defend; so great calls from every quarter for men, and so little prospects for getting any, that I find it impossible to comply with the act of Assembly, and opinion of the Council of War, in building the chain of forts on the frontiers. You must therefore, notwithstanding all the orders which have heretofore been given, immediately despatch Captain Bell, with his whole company to Captain Cox's fort; where he is to remain himself with twenty men, taking command of said fort, and escorting all Expresses, wagons, &c, to and from Fort Cumberland, as far as Ashby's and Pearsalls. The rest of his men he is to divide into two equal parts; one of which, with his Ensign, is to march to, and be stationed at Kirkendalls, for the protection of the people there. The other party, with a trusty sergeant is to march to, and put themselves under the direction of the officer commanding at Ashby's, in order to strengthen that garrison and enable them to afford escorts with the greater safety. Your own and the two remaining companies, you are to dispose of in the most eligible manner for the protection of the inhabitants above the Trough; and I could most earnestly wish that you would, if the thing is practicable, erect a fort in that settlement, twenty miles above your upper fort, that the people in those parts may be sheltered from the enemy, and that we may so far as is

possible, shew our willingness to comply with the laws of our country that direct this chain.

I wrote you yesterday, desiring that all the captains would be punctual in making me exact weekly returns, to be signed by themselves and officers, of the state and strength of their companies, and must repeat those orders, as I am fully resolved to suspend the first captain or commander of a company that neglects in sending me them; or that is careless in correcting or returning them exact, tho' they may vary but a *man*.

All the militia that are not already marched, must be immediately ordered down, to call at this place to lodge their arms. I am, etc.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: Yours of the 20th ultimo and 1st inst. I have just received. I am sorry to hear you even mention recalling Capt. McKenzie from his post. It must have been an extraordinary occasion that would have reconciled me to that proceeding, which would have left Cox's, Pearsalls, and Kirkendalls forts quite defenceless, to strengthen a garrison which was only intended to defend the stores, and might be protected by 100 against musketry, as well as by more; and all the men we have could not save it against any thing else. I have, in order to strengthen the several garrisons that maintain the communications with Fort Cumberland, ordered Captain Bell to march to Cox's, and there remain with twenty men, while the rest of his company is equally divided, one part to strengthen Ashby's, the other to protect the inhabitants at Kirkendalls. By this means McKenzie's company will be kept entire at Pearsalls, and enable him to furnish the stronger escorts. I hope you will mention that

matter to Rutherford, which we talked of at Fort Cumberland, about recruiting the rangers. The militia now can neither serve nor disserve us, for, they are by the Governor's directions, all called in. The views of the enemy are designed against the lower inhabitants. They have laid Maryland and Pennsylvania waste, as low as Carlisle, the inhabitants of which place we are told are flying with the utmost consternation. They have made an attempt on the Virginia side, killed one and captivated another on the Conogochieg road, four miles hitherwards, but retreated back, for how long a time, God knows. I communicated the contents of yours to the Doctor concerning the medicines, and he will send them up so soon as procured. At present he has none of them.

Having occasion to write to Captain Waggener, I have ordered him to despatch the men belonging to your garrison immediately. * * *[97]

By my returns of the regiment including drafts, scouts and rangers, I can only make 926 men; while Mr. Boyd, exclusive of Captain Hogg's company, has issued pay for 1080. What am I, or what are the Governor and Committee, before whom all these widely different returns must be laid for examination, to think of them? Sure the least they can say is, that [it] is unhappy for the country to have officers so little acquainted with the management of their companies as to make returns to me for 926 men only, and others to the Paymaster for 1080. You desire to have a map sent you of the lakes, &c. I have none but Evans's, which you have *also:* nor have I heard a syllable from Major Lewis, altho' Mr. Jones is now here from Augusta; nor any thing about an engagement on the Lakes. I am, etc.

[97] The omitted portion is a verbatim repetition of his direction to Captain Waggener, August 5, *ante,* regarding exact returns.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT McKENZIE

Winchester, August 5, 1756.

Sir: I wrote you yesterday; since which I have received yours of the 3d. instant, and observe the contents. I find it impossible with the few men I have to erect a chain of Forts on the Frontiers; as the Assembly have ordered, and the Council of the 10th. instant advised: For which reason, and to relieve yours, as well as the complaints of others, the enclosed to Captain Waggener covers Instructions to Captain Bell, to march with his Company immediately to Cox's Fort, where he is to remain with twenty men, to cover and secure all convoys, expresses, &c. that are passing and repassing to and from Fort Cumberland; as you are likewise to do betwixt him and Edwards's. The remainder of Captain Bells' men are to be divided into two parties, one of which is to strengthen the garrison at Ashby's, for the aforesaid purposes, while the other with his Ensign, remains at Kirkendalls, for the protection of that Settlement. By this means you will be eased from that duty; and by drawing off your Force left at Cox's (which you are to do, so soon and not before Captain Bell arrives there) you will be enabled with your whole Company to oppose the enemy, and afford the stronger Escorts. I would urge it as very necessary to erect a covert-way to secure your water, which might be done with great ease and tolerable security, with nothing more than a common fence eight or ten feet deep, covered at top: It should be a staked fence and strait, two stakes drove in the ground a foot asunder, at the distance of a sails length from the water, and filled in close, will be sufficient proof against musquetry.

What relief to afford, or how to direct you concerning your provisions, I know not. The Commissary whose business it is, has been absent this month: while you have grain in the fort you can not suffer; tho' put to difficulty in getting it ground. Your meat make Pearsall buy, and in his Fields; his protection was one motive among others, of your being there; and he can do no less for your present support. What store of provisions is wanting, must be laid in, so soon as the Governor directs, to whom I have wrote.

I had no opportunity of directing further about the Rangers, but you are now to acquaint Mr. Lemon, that he is to remain at his Fort, and act as Lieutenant to the Rangers, until further orders: and when he has retired from *that,* he may seek a Service which he more prefers, since he has refused my offer. Tell him also not to stir from thence at his peril, until he has leave; if he does, I will arrest him for disobedience of orders, and try him so soon as he arrives here. In my letter of yesterdays date, I desired that you would be punctual in sending me exact weekly returns, to be signed by yourself and Officers, of the strength and state of your company: and do again repeat that order; as I am fully resolved to suspend the first Captain or Commander of a Company who fails in sending them regularly to me; or is negligent or careless in making them out; if an error is found of one single man, I will do it. By my returns of the strength of the Regiment, Companies of Rangers, &c. and by the size-rolls delivered by each Officer; I can make only 926 men, while Mr. Boyd makes 1080 paid; what am I, or what is the Governor, who examines these returns, to think of them? Sure, the most favourable construction that can be made of this is, that the Officers have very little concern in the management of their Companies, to suffer such idle and different returns. I am &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, August 7, 1756.

Parole Dorset.

As every method hitherto practised has been found ineffectual to restrain the paltry tippling houses and Ginn-shops in this town, from selling liquor, contrary to orders, to the Soldiers, to the Detriment of His Majesty's Service, and irreparable loss of their own Health. It is hereby expressly ordered, that as many men as the Tents will contain, do immediately encamp; and all the rest, except those in the Hospital be on Monday, new quartered upon Brinker, Heath and Lemon; who are charged not to sell more than a reasonable quantity of liquor, and at reasonable rates to each man per day; as they will answer the contrary. And any Soldier or Draught who is found drinking in any of the other houses, or who is known to purchase, by direct or indirect means, any liquor from other places; or who shall be found ever going into, or sitting down in any of the other houses, without giving a sufficient excuse why he did so; shall immediately receive 50 lashes, without the benefit of a Court Martial. And all the Officers are strictly required to see all these Orders strictly complied with. It appearing by the Returns, that there are many more women drawing provisions than what are necessary. It is hereby ordered, that only twelve be allowed provisions; and those to wash and cook for the men; or be struck out of the return, and no provisions be allowed them.

As there appears to be no immediate danger, the Guard for the ease of the Soldiers, is to be reduced to a Sergeant and twelve; who are to mount at the usual time of retreat-beating.

As this will afford great relief to the workmen, it is expected they will continue longer at their work in the evening, and turn out earlier in the morning. And, as an encouragement to them to behave well, and to attend diligently to their Duty, the Colonel promises to give them, so long as they deserve it, four gallons of rum, made into punch, every day. And the Officer of the Day, who is to give close attention to the work during his tour of duty; is to see that they have it: and also to see that the working-tools are brought and lodged every night at the Guard-house. The Militia of the several Counties that are now in town, are to be immediately discharged.

ORDERS

Winchester, August 8, 1756.

Parole Epsom.

Colonel Washington requests it once more of the Officers who review their men, to be very particular that none of their Ammunition is wanting; as there are frequent complaints of deficiences, notwithstanding they were completed last week: and suspect it is wasted by means of the Soldiers firing in the woods. Therefore, the first that is found discharging his piece either at marks or game, shall be most severly punished; beside paying for the ammunition exhausted or carelessly lost.

Notwithstanding there have been orders given that no man should cut off his hair, yet the Colonel has observed that some of them have acted contrary to these Orders. He desires the Officers will take notice of those persons, and confine them. His Honor, Governor Dinwiddie has been pleased to appoint Lieutenant John McNiel, Captain-Lieutenant in the Virginia Regiment, whereof George Washington Esquire is Colonel;

and to be obeyed as such. All orders relating to the men, to be read to them in the presence of an Officer.

To CAPTAIN-LIEUTENANT JOHN McNEILL

Winchester, August 12, 1756.

Sir: You are to proceed with the party under your command to the Plantation of Henry Enock; and then endeavour to dispose of your men in such a manner, as to way-lay and surprize the Enemy if possible; or to enquire from the height of the Hills or Mountains, if any discovery can be made of their sleeping places, by their fires or smoke, which will appear very distinctly in the night, tho' at a distance. You may remain at and about this place, searching for the tracks of the enemy, until Saturday morning; and if in that time you can make no discoveries (by which your conduct must be guided) you must cross away over (if you find it more elligible than going down Capecapon) to the old road which leads from Edwards's to the Branch at Pearsalls, and dispose of your men in the most secure and private manner upon that road; watching to see if you can meet with the Enemy, passing or repassing.

On this road, and in this manner you are to remain, until your provision is out; and then repair to Edwards's Fort; where you will receive a sufficiency to bring you to this place, which I expect will be on Tuesday; except you have a prospect of some manifest advantages, by staying out longer. In that case, your return is left discretionary.

I must advise you above all things, to take every precaution to guard against Surprizes. To give every man his orders, that he may act bravely and without confusion. Inspire them with a just notion of their duty; and note every mans behaviour which with an account of your proceedings, and these Instructions, must be returned to me as soon as you return.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, August 14, 1756.

Honble. Sir: The return of the express, that came with La Force's escape, (for which accident I am extremely concerned, and fear its productions if he is not retaken,) affords me an opportunity to inform your Honor of some occurrences, which have happened since my last.[98]

Repeated complaints and applications from all quarters for men, but more especially from the garrisons which secure the communication with Fort Cumberland, (a place very useless in itself, and expensive to the country; containing an hundred and fifty men solely employed in guarding the stores, which could be better defended at any other place) obliged me to order a company from Captain Waggener's detachment (for none else could spare a man) to reinforce and enable those garrisons to send escorts with wagons and expresses, going to and returning from Fort Cumberland. This reduced Captain Waggener's command to a number insufficient to disperse parties among the settlers, and retain a strength to conduct the buildings. Therefore, the grand point then turned on this: whether he was to neglect the inhabitants and build the forts, or neglect the forts and mind the inhabitants.

His council were of the latter opinion unanimously, and sent to know my sentiments, which I own corresponded with theirs, for these reasons. First, I look upon it, that the protection of the inhabitants was the motive for ordering these forts; and to lose them, while we are at work, is perverting the intention.

[98] La Force, it will be remembered, was one of the prisoners taken in the skirmish with Jumonville's party. He was capable, enterprising, active, and had been instrumental, before his capture, in exciting the Indians to commit depredations on the frontiers. He was thrown into the jail at Williamsburg. From this abode, after more than two years' confinement, he had the address to escape, but was seized before he had advanced far into the country, remanded to prison, and loaded with irons.—*Sparks.*

Secondly, we have built some and altered other forts, as far south on the Potomac waters as any settlers have been molested; and there only remains one body of inhabitants, at a place called the Upper Tract, which needs a guard upon these waters, and thither I have ordered a party. After this, if I am not misinformed, there is nothing but a continued series of mountains uninhabited, until we get over on James river waters, not far from that fort, which takes its name from your Honor; down which to Mayo River, Captain Hogg, by your Honor's orders, is to have the direction of. If I have done amiss, in not adhering to the *letter* of the *law,* I hope your Honor will intimate the same, and give directions how I am to proceed.

There have been two or three men killed and scalped at different places, since my last, though every precaution has been taken to prevent it. The fatiguing service, low pay, and great hardships in which our men have been engaged, cause, notwithstanding the greatest care and vigilance to the contrary, great and scandalous desertions. Yesterday I received an account from Captain Stewart, of sixteen deserting in a party. Frequently two or three went off before, as they have done from this place. We never fail to pursue, and use all possible means to apprehend them; but seldom with success, as they are generally aided and assisted off by the inhabitants. There are now two parties in pursuit of these fellows, who have made towards the northward to enlist with the recruiting officers in Pennsylvania, &c. I fear without a stop can be put to it we shall lose numbers of our men.[99] A report prevailed in town

[99] "The many desertions from your corps and our militia give me much concern, as it must be known to the enemy, and encourage their so-frequent invasions and hostilities. Our several captains were ordered out last Sunday, to enquire after, search for, and apprehend the deserters from Captain Minor and Captain Hamilton, but without success, which denotes a too-great pusillanimity or want of consideration on our country's lying naked and almost defenceless against an implacable and bloodthirsty crew of savages. None can wonder if Colonel Washington is uneasy at the

yesterday, said to come from a man, who had it from a person who was at Governor Morris's treaty with the Indians, and heard them say, that a large body composed of different nations, and headed by some French, intended to attack Fort Cumberland this fall. Reports of this kind often take rise without good foundation; yet, as this is an affair of great importance, the slightest intelligence ought not to be discountenanced, especially when we consider that our provision, and, what is still more valuable, all our ammunition and stores, are lodged in that defenceless place. The consequence of a successful enterprise of this sort, and the absolute impossibility (considering the weakness of the place, badness of situation, and division of our force) to preventing its falling, are, without previous notice, motives sufficient to apprehend the worst. Therefore, notwithstanding I enlarged on this subject in a former letter, think it my duty to hint *this again,* and to get directions how I am to proceed.

It is true, I give no credit to this intelligence, because I flatter myself such important information as this would be communicated, in the most distinct and expeditious manner, by Governor Morris; yet, as I before said, it being an expedition they cannot fail of succeeding in, what should deter them from attempting it? We have certain advice, that two of our deserters have reached Fort Duquesne, and were heard to speak in high terms, before they went off (but this not known till after they were gone) of the reward that would be got for communicating the weakness of the works and garrison at Fort Cumberland. All the militia are returned save thirty from Culpeper, who stay willingly with Captain Fields.

backwardness of the Lower Country's not sending their drafted men to complete his regiment. He has great reason to repeat and often enforce his representations. It is on record, you know, that a certain widow gained her suit by much importunity and teasing."—*W. Fairfax to Bryan Fairfax,* Aug. 1, 1756.

As a general meeting of all the persons concerned in the estate of my deceased brother[1] is appointed to be held at Alexandria, about the middle of September next, for making a final settlement of all his affairs; and as I am very deeply interested, not only as an executor and heir to part of his estate, but also in a very important dispute, subsisting between Colonel Lee,[2] who married the widow, and my brothers and self, concerning advice[3] in the will, which brings the whole personal estate in question,—I say, as this is a matter of very great moment to me, I hope your Honor will readily consent to my attending this meeting, provided no disadvantage is likely to arise during my absence; in which case, I shall not offer to quit my command.

If war is to be declared at this place, I should be glad if your Honor would direct the manner. I know there is ceremony required, but the order I am ignorant of.[4] I am, &c.

ADDRESS TO HIS COMMAND

You see, gentlemen soldiers, that it hath pleased our most gracious sovereign to declare war in form against the French King, and (for divers good causes, but more particularly for their ambitious usurpations and encroachments on his American dominions) to pronounce all the said French King's subjects and vassals to be enemies to his crown and dignity; and hath willed and required all his subjects and people, and in

[1] Lawrence Washington.

[2] George Lee. He was an uncle of Arthur and Richard Henry Lee; married Mrs. Lawrence Washington.

[3] The difficulty with this word is caused by the carelessness of the 1784–85 copyist. Sparks's suggestion that "a devise" is meant seems the correct solution. In 1754 Washington obtained a legal opinion from George Mercer on the devise of the Mount Vernon negroes, and as late as 1769 an opinion from Edmund Pendleton on the devise of certain lands of his father's estate.

[4] War against France had been formally declared by the King on May 17. Notice of this action was published in Williamsburg August 7. Governor Dinwiddie answered (August 21): "The method, you are to declare war, is at the head of your companies, with three vollies of small arms for his Majesty's health and a successful war."

a more especial manner commanded his captain-general of his forces, his governors, and all other his commanders and officers, to do and execute all acts of hostility in the prosecution of, this just and honorable war. And though our utmost endeavors can contribute but little to the advancement of his Majesty's honor and the interest of his governments, yet let us show our willing obedience to the best of kings, and, by a strict attachment to his royal commands, demonstrate the love and loyalty we bear to his sacred person; let us, by rules of unerring bravery, strive to merit his royal favor, and a better establishment as reward for our services.[5]

To LORD FAIRFAX

Winchester, August 29, 1756.

My Lord: It is with infinite concern, I see the distresses of the people, and hear their complaints, without being able to afford them relief. I have so often troubled your Honor for aid from the militia, that I am almost ashamed to repeat my demands; nor should mention them again, did I not think it absolutely necessary at this time to save the most valuable and flourishing part of this county from immediate desertion. And how soon the remainder part, as well as the adjacent counties, may share the same fate, is too obvious to reason, and to your Lordship's good sense for me to demonstrate. The whole settlement of Conogochieg in Maryland is fled, and there now remain only two families from thence to Fredericktown, which is several miles below the Blue Ridge. By which means we are quite exposed, and have no better security on that side, than the Potomac River, for many miles below the Shenandoah; and how great security that is to us, may easily be discerned, when

[5] Printed in the *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, vol. 14, p. 264 I am unable to trace it in the gazettes of that time.—*Ford.*

we consider, with what facility the enemy have passed and repassed it already. That the Maryland settlements are all abandoned is certainly *fact,* as I have had the accounts transmitted to me by several hands, and confirmed yesterday by Henry Brinker, who left Monocacy the day before, and also affirms, that three hundred and fifty wagons had passed that place to avoid the enemy, within the space of three days.

I thought it expedient to communicate the above in order to inform your Lordship of the reasons for asking succours for these unhappy people, and how absolutely necessary it is to use, (without delay,) such vigorous measures as will save that settlement from total desolation.

We see, my Lord, the absurdity of the people's arguments, and the consequences of leaving one county, nay, one *part* of the county, or, to go still farther, a single company, that is more exposed than another, to defend itself and the parts in danger. When Hampshire was invaded, and called upon Frederick for assistance, the people of the latter refused their aid, answering, "Let them defend themselves, as we shall do if they come to us." Now the enemy have forced through that county, and begin to infest this, those a little removed from danger are equally infatuated; and will be, I fear, until all in turn fall a sacrifice to an insulting and merciless enemy.

These observations may be improperly offered to your Lordship, but they occur in so refulgent a light to me, that I could not resist the impulse of dictating them. I am so weak-handed here, that I could not, without stagnating the public works, spare a man to these people's assistance. Yet I look upon the retaining of them to be so essential to the well-being of the county in general, that I have ordered all the men, that can possibly be spared, to march thitherwards; and they accordingly

set out to-morrow morning, to remain there until your Lordship can relieve them, that they may return to these works, which in my opinion are of no little importance to the safety of the county, if we should be attacked by numbers, as we have reason to apprehend. I hope your Lordship will exert your authority in raising men for this salutary end, and that you will think it advisable to make every company furnish their quota. This will redress the complaints of the people below, who say they cannot leave their families to the mercy of the enemy, while they are scouring the woods.

This is the reason given by some why Caton's party consists but of ten men, while others say it proceeds from dislike to the *man*. I acquainted his Honor the Governor with your Lordship's order for raising fifty men for this service, who approved thereof, and has been pleased to direct me to continue them there so long as I see cause.

I cannot conclude without again mentioning how agreeable it would be, if your Lordship would order a party immediately to these parts, that I may withdraw my men to their duty at this place.[6] I am, my Lord, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, August 30, 1756.

Parole Babylon.

Colonel Washington being inclined upon all occasions to shew his willingness to serve the deserving and industrious men of his Regiment: And at the same time, resolved to punish in the most exemplary manner, all irregularities in the ill-disposed. Takes this method to acquaint the workmen that

[6]Lord Fairfax immediately ordered a militia captain and 36 men to march to the upper Potomac.

did not work, in order to prevent counterfeit sickness, and other pretences to avoid *this* Duty. But as by this means the best as well as worst and idlest men, suffered equally alike. He assures those, who by their constant and steady attachment to the Service, have approved themselves good Soldiers, that *he* will not only continue their pay for all Days to come, while they are employed on the public Works; but will also see at the next payment, that they receive the sums which were deducted at this. And will also do the same justice to those who have hitherto endeavoured, by all idle practices, to avoid this necessary Work. If they will amend their manners, and attend diligently to their duty. And in order to prevent any but lawful Excuses screening them from their Duty. It is hereby ordered, that the Rolls of each Company be regularly called twice a day, as before directed; when the Officer is to be present, and inspect narrowly into the matter, to see that no imposition is offered by the Sergeants. As the Sergeants have extraordinary pay for over-looking the men at work, it is expected that they will be diligent in their Duty: Those who are found to be the least remiss, will be punished. They are also to answer for the misbehaviour of the men under their command. The Sergeant-Major is also to attend, to receive the names of the absent and sick men; to search after the first, and conduct the latter to the Hospital, to be examined by the Doctor; who is ordered to receive and enter the names of none without just cause; nor entertain any longer than the nature of the Disorder requires: But immediately upon the cause ceasing which brought them there, to return their names to the Adjutant or Sergeant-Major, to be ordered to their Work. It is further Ordered, when any person under cloak of sickness, lameness, &c. is discovered in the deceit by the Surgeon; that he shall be immediately reconducted to the Fort, and delivered to the Officer of the Day,

who is expressly ordered to give him in the face of all the men, 50 lashes with a cat-and-nine-tails; and set him to work again. This he is also to do with the men who delay to appear at roll-calling, without sufficient excuse, or who shall be idle while present.

The Sergeant or Corporal of the Guard is to make his report to the Officer of the Day; who is to report that and all Occurences, which happen in his tour of Duty, to the Colonel in writing; in which and in all the foregoing particulars, it is expected that he and the parties concerned will pay the strictest observation to it. It is also expected the Officers will see the greatest punctuality observed, in following the Orders for preventing the men from buying any liquors from any Houses but those appointed. And it is hereby declared, that if any Soldier detects another in committing this crime, he shall upon proof thereof, receive 5/ from such Soldier's pay, and the Colonels thanks for his good Behaviour: And as precautions will confine the Custom to the aforesaid places; it is expected they will sell only a moderate quantity to each man per day, and that at reasonable rates; as great complaints have been made of the demands for Liquor.

*ANSWER IN MAJOR STEVENS'S CASE

[Williamsburg, August, ? 1756?.]

If Majr. Stevens evil'y treated any of the Workmen it was unknown to me. I don't recollect any complaints that were made of such abuses.

2d. What government the Militia were, or are under I know not; but no Soldier can be legally punish'd for any offence until he is found diserving thereof by a Court Martial. It can hardly be suppo'd then, that I gave Maj. Stevens Instructions to exert an authority, that I never practis'd myself.

3d. I don't know that Maj. Stevens ever defrauded the Men of a farthing. He drew their pay if I remember Right once a Week, and the Working Rolls were call'd over twice a day to see that the Men were all present, so that I don't see in what manner he cou'd appropriate much, if any of their Pay to his own uses. No complaints were ever made to me of such practices that I can recollect, if there had the matter w'd have been enquir'd into.

4th. I don't know that Maj. Stevens was better advis'd of the time of discharging the Workmen, than themselves were; nor do I know that he bargain'd with any Men for their discharges.

5th. I don't know that Maj. Stevens encourag'd any Men to desert; he sometimes obtain'd discharges for the sickly and weak. If I had ever come to the knowledge of such transactions I shou'd have thought myself equally culpable to let it pass in Silence.

[6th.] 5th. I have a confus'd, and imperfect remembrance of the complaints of some against Maj. Steven's for compelling them to take Goods and Liquor instead of money. and of others that denied having receiv'd their full pay, but these complaints are so frequently made behind an Officers back, when he has at the same time rec'ts under their hands to refute the assertions, that I took little notice of them.

[7th.] 6th. No doubt! and Maj. Stevens appear'd to me to be a Person of consummate Industry, and as I thought carried proper Authority.

[8th.] 7th. Very much so for I wou'd feign have continued him to overlook the Workmen that were afterwards employ'd.[7]

[7] This paper is indorsed by Washington: "G: Washington's Answers to sundrie queries put to him relative to Major Stephen." Major Joseph Stevens, of Caroline County, was engaged to oversee the construction of Fort Loudoun and so acted from the middle of May to Aug. 1, 1756. The middle of August, Washington's accounts were examined by a committee of the burgesses, and it seems probable that the examination of Stevens's conduct took place some weeks later.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: Yours of the 17th & 23d August I received. Mr. Boyd is just returned from Williamsburg, settling his accompts and getting a supply of cash. He will be with you to pay you off.

I am in hopes our men for the future will be better satisfied, as the Committee have allowed them 8*d* per day and their clothes without any stoppages or deductions. The Governor expects this encouragement will engage the Rangers to enlist.

I wrote him about Fort Cumberland being put down; but he says, as it is a King's fort he cannot venture to abandon it, without further orders from a higher power. He says, Lord Loudoun will be at Williamsburg about the 20th November, and then the affair may be properly represented to him. He has however sent me orders to draw from thence a sufficient quantity of stores for this and the other forts, and I have accordingly sent wagons to be loaded with ammunition, &c. for that purpose.

The Governor informs me too, that he just received an express from Major Lewis, acquainting him that he might expect 150 Cherokees to be at this place in a fortnight; that the Catawba King was gone to South Carolina, and had engaged to send 50 warriors to our assistance, on his return from thence. This will be a considerable help to us, as we shall be able to carry the war into their own country, and use them in the same manner they have us for 12 months past. He adds, that the Catawbas and Cherokees are very firmly attached to our interest, and will still furnish us with more assistance when the fort in that country is completed. 'T is already in great forwardness. I have wrote to Captain Waggener of this, and ordered him to keep up a correspondence with yours and the

other forts, that you may hear from each other every week. I beg you will see to have every man at the fort supplied with a powder-horn and shot-bag.

The Governor has sued Hedgman for scandal and has ordered Lieutenant Hall to attend the General Court, the 14th of October, as an evidence. Acquaint Mr. Hall of this, and send him down. I have got orders from the Governor to enlist servants, the masters to be paid a reasonable price upon the first purchase, deducting for the time they have served. You will observe this, if any should fall in with you. Complaint has been made that the officers and soldiers upon party, take up the strays they find in the woods. Let these practices be discouraged. Ensign Roy had my promise to be appointed to my company, as it is the company he before belonged to, in case my brother did not accept, and *he* has declined it. I desire you will send Mr. Roy down immediately to this place. I have received no monthly returns, which I expected regularly, besides *weekly* ones.

Let all your leisure hours be employed in disciplining the men; for as Lord Loudoun is to be here, and will probably see them, I would willingly have them make the best appearance possible.

The wagons must be despatched as soon as possible, loaded with powder chiefly, the rest with grenades, musket-ball and a quantity of flints, with some 12 lb. & 4 lb. grape-shot.

The powder is the most material, so let the greater proportion of that be sent. The men returned by the officers above-mentioned, at this place, are employed on the public works, but they must still continue them on their rolls and returns, and shall have them returned to their companies, as soon as they have done here, if they belong properly to them.

Waters and Burrass behaved extremely ill when they were sent down last. If I could lay my hands on them, I would try the effect of 1000 lashes on the former, and whether a general court-martial would not condemn the latter to a life eternal! I shall not at this time enumerate the different kinds of charges laid to both, but desire you will enquire minutely of Mr. Burrass what he did with the *mare* he brought from Fort Cumberland. She was a creature belonging to the heirs of Theobald, caught by Captain Ashby for me. I intended to have had her appraised, and allowed the heirs her full value. She was first carried to Fort Cumberland, then brought down by that villain Burrass, and here sold or swapped, I want to know to whom, that I may get her and do as I first intended. Captain Peachy applied to me for leave to take up strays, &c. and said it was practised by the Marylanders & Pennsylvanians. If the people of those provinces are guilty of unlawful practices, I cannot think it should be any excitement to us to follow their example: for under that pretence of getting strays in the mountains, is carried on a scene of the greatest iniquity that can be imagined. The horses on Pattersons Creek, South Branch, and other of our deserted settlements hitherwards, are taken up, sold and made away with, to the infinite detriment and oppression of the people who complain of these grievances in the most sensible manner, and urge that they are more oppressed by their own people, than by the enemy. Were there a limitation given, the officers might, but the soldiers would not observe any, and all strays whatever got, would be said to come within limited bounds. However, if you think you can put the garrison of Fort Cumberland under proper restraints in this particular, I would rather that they be benefited by any advantages of this kind than the enemy, or those who have no pretence should take them off. Therefore suffer no horses to be

deemed strays, or taken up as such, which run anywhere below the Flats, either on the Virginia or Maryland side; and if any are caught above, if it is not known to whom they belong, let them be appraised by indifferent officers, upon their honor; and the valuation, with the marks and brand, be registered in a book for that purpose. Then let the person who takes such horses up, and claims them by this right, deliver to the owner, if any should come, the valuation, if such horses should be sold, or in his use and service, or else to deliver up the horse. But if the horse should die, be killed, or stray away from the Fort, in that case the person who takes him up, not to be answerable for the horse or valuation. No person tho' is under any pretence to take up with a view of keeping and detaining as his property, horses where the owner is known. I will by no means consent that any horses below the Flats shall be taken upon the above terms, lest the property of the people be affected, when they may have better chances of securing their own. In the above I have given you my sentiments, which you may in a court of officers put under proper articles and heads, and made publick to, and strictly practised in the garrison, under very severe penalties on officers, and heavy corporal punishments on the soldiers.

One thing more I think necessary, before any officer or soldier can pretend to lay just claim under the aforesaid articles: that is, to advertise in the nearest publick places in Maryland and Virginia, such as Winchester & Frederick-Town, any horses so taken, that the real owners upon procuring attested proof, may receive their creatures by coming or sending for them. You will receive herewith a cask of shoes, containing 14 dozen pairs, which are to be distributed among the needy of the soldiers, taking care that account is kept to whom they are delivered, so that the price may be stopped from their pay, at

the usual rates of 7/6 per pair, and let me be immediately advised of their delivery and payment. You will order as strong an escort with the wagons as you can, as far as Pearsalls; and should any of the wagoners want provision, let them be served, ordering your commissary to remit an account of it to the commissary here, that it may be deducted from their wages. I am, etc.

To CAPTAIN THOMAS WAGGENER

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: I received yours by Captain Spotswood. I was obliged to order the waggons down to Alexandria for Salt, as we had none in store here; which no doubt has detained them longer than you expected. Enclosed I return your Size-roll, as it is not agreeable to the Instructions. A particular description of the men was the chief intent of them, and that you have not attempted. I desire you will make it out now, and be very particular in describing every man, and send me two of them per the first opportunity. Inform the Officers, that I expect at the bottom of their weekly and monthly returns, they will mention all the contingencies, and set down the persons names, the day of the month they died, deserted or joined. I can by no means consent to your leaving your command at the time you mention. Things at present are, and I expect will then be so precarious, that your presence will be absolutely necessary. If all is quiet, you may get leave to go down in December, to the Ayer and Terminer Court, when the Committee will meet.

It has been ordered that the several Officers commanding at different posts, should transmit each other all the intelligence they can receive; so that they might hear from every Fort at least one a week. Colonel Stephens complains of not hearing from you on the Branch. I would have you keep open the

communication, and observe these Orders. I have received Orders from the Governor (in consequence of an Act of Parliament) to instruct all the Officers to enlist Servants. I would have you, and the other Officers under your command, observe this; acquaint them all with it, and further, that it is the determination of the Governor and Committee to reduce all the Officers who do not immediately complete their companies. The Owners of the Servants will be paid by the Governor a reasonable allowance for them; reckoning what they cost, and deducting for the time they have served.

I desire you will take care to have each man of your command furnished with powder-horns and shot-bags. Let the Officers know I shall look to them if this Order is neglected. I desire the practise (too much used) of taking up strays in the Woods, may be discouraged. Let all the Officers and Soldiers know this. Colonel Vanmeter tells me, there are many of the countrys cattle on New-Creek; when the proper season comes for Salting them, I desire you will have them collected. If you could hire the Country people for this Job, it would be best. I have had several complaints from the people that the Soldiers plunder and rob their Gardens, and destroy their Fowls, and every thing they can lay their hands on. Pray endeavour to stop these proceedings, as they occasion the Officers to be much reflected on. I have yet received no monthly returns of the Troops on the Branch. I expect these to be regularly sent me, as well as the weekly ones.

Instruct the Officers at all leisure hours to keep their men constantly to their exercise. For as Lord Loudoun is to be here as soon as the Campaign is over, and will review the Regiment; I would (as I am sure every Officer would) be willing they should make the best appearance. If you think you have not a sufficient quantity of ammunition at the Fort under your command, to withstand an attack; you must write to Captain

McKenzie to keep as much for you out of that which will be sent from Fort Cumberland. There are many things in which you desire my directions, which at this distance I can not possibly be a judge of. In these affairs I had always rather you would consult your Officers, than delay the time until you consult me. I doubt not your stedfast design to promote the publick interest; and shall always concur in opinion with you and your Officers in every thing. Colonel Vanmeter in the execution of his office, will have much trouble; and will necessarily need advice often. I would also have you to consult your Officers in any affairs in his way, in which he may desire your assistance. Colonel Vanmeter is ordered to lay in provisions only until the 1st. April; that in case no Expedition is carried on over the mountains, nothing may be lost. I would have you observe this, lest any superfluous stock be laid in, or any measures taken contrary to the present intention. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN DAVID BELL

Winchester, September 6, 1756.

Sir: I received yours of the 15th. August; which I have answered before I received yours of the 25th. I am sorry the Rangers seem to dislike the Service so much, but am still in hopes, the encouragement given by the committee will have some weight with them. They have allowed our Soldiers 8d. per day, without deductions for clothes or Surgeon: A General Hospital is established for their reception in case of accidents. The Clothes which are now given them, besides the 8d. per day, will be as good as any Soldiers in Europe. All these advantages they may enjoy, if they will only embrace this opportunity of enlisting. However, rather suffer them to remain Rangers, than use any harsh methods with them. Barracks ought to be built before the cold weather sets in; and as they

must be without the Fort, I think it would be best to build them under the Hill, tho' in such a manner as to lie under the immediate command of the fort, and may be closed in a short warning. I desire you will have all your command provided with powder-horns and shot-bags; and let them employ all their leisure hours in learning their exercise. I have wrote Captain Waggener to keep a constant correspondence with the other forts, so that you may all hear from each other once a week at least, even tho' you have nothing remarkable to transmit.

The Governor has sent me Orders to enlist Servants: if any should come your way, you will observe this order. If you should want any tools for building Barracks, &c. you must draw on Captain Waggener for them. Several complaints have been made of the Officers and Soldiers taking up strays they find in the woods, and making use of them. I desire this practice may be discouraged. I ought to have received the monthly return from your Garrison before this. If you think you have not a sufficient quantity of ammunition in your fort to withstand an attack, you must stop what will be really necessary, from the Waggons as they come down; and as they go up, I desire you may reinforce Captain McKenzies party as much as you can.

Discontinue in your future returns of your Company, those men carried by Ensign Fleming to Captain Hogg: as it makes a double and irregular accompt. I am &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, September 8, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I received your favours of the 19th, 20th, and 21st ultimo, and wrote immediately to the commanding officers of the counties of Prince William, Culpeper, and Fairfax,

to march their drafts to this place. There are none of them yet arrived, nor do I know whether they are made.

Your Honor's letter of the 19th mentions that I may enlist servants agreeable to the act of Parliament; but as I have not yet seen *that,* am at a loss how to proced, until I receive your further orders or a copy of the act.[8] It will occasion great murmuring and discontent to the masters, if they are not paid immediately for their servants; so I hope your Honor will order them to make application to you for the money. When these points are settled, and I have received your Honor's farther orders, I shall send out some officers to recruit. It is the best, most expeditious, nay, only method, I know of *now* to recruit the forces, as I doubt not we shall meet with as good success as our neighborhood. And I am credibly informed, an officer of the regulars enlisted 30 in one day in Maryland. I shall in the meantime recruit all that offer, to prevent their leaving the Colony, but shall be glad of farther instructions. A copy of the *act* I ought to have above all things. The men are much satisfied with the augmentation of their pay, but nothing will prevent their desertion while they are kindly received and entertained thro' the Colony, and even under the eye of the civil magistrate. Perhaps a proclamation of pardon to all who would surrender themselves and return to their duty might be of service. Those delivered to the constables are always suffered to escape, and no notice taken of it. All the necessaries I can get in the Colony, the men do not want for; but others indispensably necessary cannot be had. We are in great want of drums. I got one from Colonel Randolph. We have got no conveniences to mend old drums, tho' we do the best with what we

[8] The governor had merely copied the words from one of Washington's letters, and was ignorant of any act of Parliament authorizing the enlistment of servants. When the general assembly met towards the end of September the governor stated that he had been "ordered to recommend" a proper provision for paying the masters of servants as should enlist, and the assembly so provided.—*Ford.*

have, which I believe is scarcely more than four very bad ones to the whole regiment; and we have drummers for all the companies learning.

I shall be down at the time your Honor directs to wait upon the Earl of Loudoun. I am in hopes they can do without me in Napp's affair. I have ordered Lieutenant Hall down to the day you appointed.[9] The Quakers still remain here, and shall until the other drafts are discharged. Thro' the means of their officers chiefly, I believe, the Rangers are quite adverse to enlisting into the regiment. Cockes tells them they are obliged to serve no longer than he commands them, and it was upon these terms they say, they enlisted, and that they will serve if they can continue under the command of their own Captains. So they must be discharged, as the fund is exhausted. They are acquainted with the late encouragement, but nothing will engage them to enlist. I should be glad of express orders in this affair. It may be of service in engaging the Tusks to assist us, if the Nottaways are paid; and I refer them to your Honor for a consideration. The Indians are a very covetous people, and expect to be well rewarded for the least service.

I am afraid military threats will not deter the Pennsylvanian butchers from driving away the cattle. I would have been glad to have received particular directions concerning the provisions, as to the quantity, and where it must be deposited. I fear it is scarcely practicable to get Indians to go *now* to the Twightwees; I doubt not it would be of service, but how it is to be effected I know not, as we have no Indians in our assistance, but those expected from the Southward. People here in general are very selfish; every person expects forces at his own

[9] "I desire you will order Lieut. Hall down here till the 14th of Octr., to be evidence against Mr. Hedgeman, who has treated my character in a villainous manner and with great injustice, and I am determined to make an example of him."—*Dinwiddie to Washington*, Aug. 19, 1756. This letter is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 345.

door, and is angry to see them at his neighbours. I imagine they are much of the same stamp in Augusta.

I wish the new commission for this county may have the intended effect. The number of tippling houses kept here is a great grievance.

All the efforts which have been made here to raise the militia have proved ineffectual.

War having been proclaimed here and at Fort Cumberland, and the guns from Rock Creek brought up some time ago, Ensign Fleming, in Captain Hogg's absence, will be wanted at his post. But your Honor will be pleased to do as you like in the affair. I am glad the Cherokees have determined to come to our assistance, and to hear of the firm attachment of them and the Catawbas to our interest. They will be of particular service more than twice their number of white men. When they arrive, which I pray may be *soon,* we may deal with the French in their own way; and, by visiting their country, will keep their Indians at home. I sent off expresses to enquire for fuzees for them. Have not yet heard from Colonel Mason. In Fredericksburg, I am informed, there are about 29. Mr. Hunter of that place informs me that Mr. George Braxton has at least 500 very good, light and fit for Indians. I shall send immediately to Fort Cumberland for a sufficient quantity of the stores. Our men are very much harassed in endeavoring to protect the frontiers, which the great extent of territory renders impossible to be done properly with our small numbers. But we have been happy in being tolerably peaceable and holding our own of late, while Maryland and Pennsylvania fly in the utmost consternation. The frontiers of Maryland are abandoned for many miles below the Blue Ridge, as low as Frederick-Town, thro' which place I am credibly informed no less than 350 wagons, transporting the affrighted families, passed in the space of three days. By

which means, Potomack River, which is now our frontier, is deserted on the Maryland side 40 miles below Conocgch. and as much in a parellel below Winchester, and is now more than any the theater of bloodshed and cruelty.

Those Indians who are now coming should be shewed all possible *respect,* and the greatest *care* taken of them, as upon them much depends. 'T is a critical time, they are very humoursome, and their assistance very necessary! One false step might not only lose us *that,* but *even* turn them against us. All kinds of necessary goods, &c, should be got for them.

If your Honor does not care to trouble yourself about it, and please to give me orders, and furnish me with money or letters of credit (for our paper money passes to great disadvantage, and the Committee will not agree to provide those necessaries as they expect Indian affairs come more properly under your regard) I will get them immediately from Philadelphia, which is the *only* place that I know of that we can possibly be supplied from.

Sometime ago I wrote to your Honor about Jenkins' pay, which you then ordered me to advance. But as the Committee have ordered that £6 10, which I paid him, should be got back, I thought proper to acquaint your Honor with it, as I must bring it in now as a private charge against your Honor, it being disallowed in my accompt. I have also paid the expresses with the declaration of war and the proclamation concerning La Force, which I shall include in the same accompt, and settle with your Honor at meeting. Your Honor mentions that when the drafts are discharged, the number of officers must be reduced. It is true we have a greater number than is necessary for that of the men, at present; but as it is absolutely necessary to keep the forces, and a larger number than we now

have, I think some means should be fallen upon to augment *them*. And altho' the officers have not complied with their promises, I will venture to say they did it as well as any after appointed will do, unless some scheme is fallen upon, and a better foundation for recruiting. And as the most of our present corps are gentlemen of family, and have now been sometime in the service, I fear we should exchange for the worse, if we aim at a change.

I think it highly necessary some vigorous measures should be taken to engage or compel the deserters to return to their duty. It certainly would be of service were the King's attorneys in the several counties, ordered to prosecute all who harbour them, without respect of persons. The immediate loss we suffer for want of their services is greater than the prejudice they do the *service* in general thro' the country, by asserting falsehoods of the ill-treatment they received from their officers, and the great want of every thing in the regiment except bad usage. This they do, in order to gain the compassion of *credulous* people, who immediately receive them with open arms, listen to their complaints, and industriously propagate them thro' the country, and screen the offenders from justice! There is one Crisp here, a ship-carpeter, who says he was enlisted by your Honor at 2/ per day. He is of no service to us *now*, and I should be glad to know what must be done with him, and who is to pay his wages? For the Committee I know will grudge him 2/ per day, for which we received no equivalent service of any kind.

As it seems uncertain when the Assembly will meet, I think it my indispensable duty to observe to your Honor the bad consequences that may arise from want of proper measures to reinforce the Regiment, or to keep up a sufficient strength for the protection of the frontiers, when the drafts are to be

discharged in December.[10] The timorous disposition of the inhabitants occasions much confusion and trouble; and constantly are for flying off on the least noise or report of danger. And if they are lessened in their notions of security by a reduction of our forces, what must *then* be the event?

The only body of inhabitants is now, and has for some time past been settled on the South Branch; and it is with the greatest difficulty they can be prevailed upon to stay. Should they once give way, we shall not have a soul betwixt this and Fort Du Quesne, except what few soldiers are contained in the little forts on Pattersons Creek.

At present, affairs are still and peaceable, but how long they will remain so is uncertain. The French, flushed with so much success in all their attempts hitherto, may have some grand scheme in view, and surprize us, as in that most unlucky affair of Oswego, which I heartily wish may be yet groundless.

These letters enclosed will show your Honor what obstacles we meet with in enlisting servants; and as I expect opposition will be made in every place I send to recruit at, I beg your Honor would be peremptory and particular in your instructions relative to this affair, both as to masters and magistrates.

Mr. Jones is just come to town from Augusta, who informs me no account of the Cherokees is yet known of in that county; so that we need not look for them these two or three weeks yet.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Mount Vernon, September 23, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Under your kind indulgence I came to this place a few days ago, expecting to meet the executors of my deceased brother, in order to make a final settlement of his

[10] The assembly convened September 23. £8,000 were appropriated to raise Virginia's proportion of the Royal American Regiment. (See Hening's *Statutes at Large*, vol. 7, p. 61.)

affairs. I was disappointed tho' in this design, by the Assembly having called away the principal persons concerned, which I was unacquainted with until Jenkins' return, near about the same time that I got down. I shall remark, in obedience to your Honor's request, such things relating to the Virginia regiment as occur to me *now,* requiring the Assembly's attention;[11] and if any thing further presents itself, I shall communicate it from Winchester, for which place I shall set out this afternoon. I have often urged, for *one* thing, the necessity of enforcing the articles of war in all its parts, where it is not incompatible with the nature of this service. I have been surprised, as often as I have reflected, and really cannot devise any reason, why the Assembly should be so much averse to established rules for the regulation of their forces, which long experience in established armies fully evinces the necessity of. And my surprise is yet increased, when I consider how cautiously worded the act of Parliament is, to preserve the rights and liberties of the people against the arbitrary proceedings of the military officers.

We are under a kind of regulation at present that renders command extremely difficult and precarious, as no crimes, I believe, are particularly notified but mutiny and desertion in the act of Assembly, notwithstanding there are many others equally punishable by act of Parliament.

One thing more, which particularly requires attention, is the billeting, quartering, and dieting of soldiers upon the inhabitants, which in many cases cannot be avoided.

I have, in several letters to your Honor, expressed my opinion with candor and freedom, about the situation, works, and garrison at Fort Cumberland. I shall, nevertheless (as you command me to lay before your Honor such things as require the Assembly's notice,) repeat on this occasion my apprehensive

[11] This letter, through the delay of the messenger, did not reach Dinwiddie until the assembly had been prorogued.—*Ford.*

fears once more for that place, to avoid, if any accident should happen to it, the malicious reflections, which inseparably attend misfortunes of the kind. I have upon all occasions said, that Fort Cumberland is a place of no strength, and never can be tenable from the badness of the ground. It is far remote from any of our inhabitants, exposed to the insults of the enemy, renders the communication between that and the inhabitants difficult, and it is not the more convenient for annoying the enemy; contains all our valuable stores (save what I have removed to Winchester), and a garrison of one hundred and seventy, which are too many a number to be spared from other places, just to defend the stores at this, and not enough to afford detachments to waylay and surprise the enemy. I shall, therefore, beg leave to observe, in regard to Fort Cumberland, that if it is continued, we confined to act defensively, and keep our forces dispersed as they now are. The place must be fortified with strong works, or else inevitably fall, garrison and stores, into the enemy's hands. How fatal a stroke! and what noise this will make, the censure of mankind will speedily declare.

I enclose your Honor Colonel Stephen's letter on this head, in answer to one I wrote to him on the subject.

I did, from the beginning, express my sentiments against having small garrisons in a chain of forts along our frontiers; garrisons not sufficient to defend the walls (how then the inhabitants when the enemy are about?) and shall now give a few reasons upon which this opinion was grounded. We have a frontier of such immense extent, that to build forts at convenient distances would employ such numbers of men or divide our troops into such trifling [numbers] that no one part could defend itself, much less the inhabitants, were the country invaded.

The most effectual way that I can see, though none can answer while we act defensively, is to have no more than three

or four large, strong forts, built at convenient distances, upon our frontiers; in which strong garrisons must be contained, that parties able to cope with when they hear of or do meet the enemy may be sent out, and these parties in constant succession to be ranging and securing the country. Here a difficulty will arise, as others will in every defensive plan that can be offered. How are these ranging parties, sent out in this manner, and probably remaining on the scout from ten to fourteen days, to be supplied with provisions, the inhabitants being so thinly settled, and the forts so far extended? The difficulty is great, yet not sufficient to render this plan inferior to the former. For in the other case, when the enemy is heard of, the garrison can only send out parties, more fit to reconnoiter than oppose. These parties, if they prove too small (which in all probability they may), are certain of falling a prey to the enemy, whose numbers cannot be known until thus proved. I could urge many things more on this head, but believe it useless. What I have already said, I hope, is sufficient to give your Honor a hint of the matter, and that is all I aimed at. We may form many schemes to defend ourselves, but experience will shew, that none but removing the cause will prove effectual. Unless the Assembly concerts some measures to augment their force, the country, I fear, must inevitably fall. The frontiers, since this time a twelve month, are totally deserted for fifty miles and upwards quite from north to south, and all below that greatly thinned by the removal of numbers; occasioned in some measure by Maryland and Pennsylvania giving ground so much faster than we do, which exposes a very fine country of ours on that side, as low as Monocacy in Maryland, several miles on this side the Blue Ridge.

I believe I might also add, that no person, who regards his character, will undertake a command without the means of

preserving it; since his conduct is culpable for all misfortunes, and never right but when successful.

I cannot think any number under two thousand men sufficient to cover our extensive frontiers, and with *them* it is impossible to prevent misfortunes, however easy the world may think it. What means can be used to raise these men, I know not, unless the listing servants is thought expedient; and that (alone) will prove ineffectual. Some resolve should be come to about the ranging companies. Under what regulations those are in Augusta, and what service they have done the country, I know not. Those on this quarter have done little service, and amount (both companies) to about thirty men only at this time. I apprehend it will be thought advisable to keep a garrison always at Fort Loudoun; for which reason I would beg leave to represent the great nuisance the number of tippling-houses in Winchester are of to the soldiers, who, by this means, in despite of the utmost care and vigilance, are, so long as their pay holds good, incessantly drunk, and unfit for service.

The rates of their liquor are immoderately high, and the publicans throughout the country charge one shilling per meal, currency, for soldier's diet; and the country only allows the recruiting officer eight pence per day for the maintenance of a soldier, by which means he loses in proportion as he gets men, which is much complained of, and is in reality a discouraging circumstance meriting redress. The want of a chaplain does, I humbly conceive, reflect dishonor upon the regiment, as all other officers are allowed. The gentlemen of the corps are sensible of this, and did propose to support one at their private expense. But I think it would have a more graceful appearance were he appointed as others are. I could wish some method were practised to bring the commonalty acquainted with the laws against entertaining of deserters, and to enforce those

laws more effectually than they ever have been. The number of cattle that has been drove, and now is continually driving to Pennsylvania, may be thought worth noticing.

I informed your Honor immediately after my accompts were cursorily examined in April last, that the Committee objected to the money advanced Jenkins; and you ordered me to pay him as the money became due, which you would see me paid. In August last, when my accompts were again examined, and the same charge still remaining, the Committee resolved that I should get it back from Jenkins; which cannot be done, unless your Honor will please to do it. As they have absolutely refused to allow this charge, I should be glad to receive directions how to act with Jenkins; and to know whether you would have him continued any longer as a rider.

There is an officer of the American Regiment recruiting at Alexandria, and purposes to go thro' the country, and pass into Carolina. He has enlisted some servants, and purposes to take all he can meet with. This, I believe, may evince the necessity of our following his example, otherwise we suffer our country to be weakened by those and receive no immediate advantage from it; tho' I imagine the expense will be near the same to the country, their being in the King's or country's service.[12]

[12]For some time complaints were freely made of the misbehavior of the officers in the Virginia Regiment. In May both the governor and the speaker had written to Washington of the reported immoralities and drunkenness among his force, and the gross neglect of duty that prevailed, but his friends were agreed that no charge had been made against him personally. In the fall the attacks came to a head and a series of crimes and misdeeds of which the Virginia Regiment had been guilty was published in the *Virginia Gazette*, the official paper of the colony, over the signature "Centinel X." This scurrilous writing angered Washington, and in spite of the advice of his brother, of the speaker, and other intimate friends to take no notice of it, he determined to resign or to obtain such a vindication as would prove the falsity of the charges. The principal officers under his command threatened to throw up their commissions, and appealed to the governor and the assembly for redress, and satisfaction equivalent to the injury; that is, a public declaration of confidence in them. In his cash book is an entry of 10s. sent to Augustine Washington, for "publishing an answer to the 10th centinel," but no such answer appeared in print—*Ford*. Augustine Washington's letter to George (October 16) gives his reason for delaying the publication that Washington desired.

MORNING ORDERS

Winchester, September 22, 1756.

Parole Cork.

The Court-house to be cleared out immediately, the waggons unloaded, and the ammunition lodged above stairs; Sentries to be posted over it; and the Quarter-master to see the windows secured with green hides.

Winchester, September 23, 1756.

Parole Dublin.

Ensign Price to march the men under his command to-morrow morning, to their respective cantonments. The Quartermaster to provide a lock and key for the Town-house, and secure all the windows above and below with hides; and to employ the Drummers, and those of the Sentry now on guard, are likewise to assist to clean out the house.

Winchester, September 24, 1756.

Parole Exeter.

A Sergeant and twelve men, volunteers, to parade immediately, and go 5 or 6 miles up the new road, and return by the old road.

AFTER ORDERS

The eldest Subaltern and 25 men volunteers to march out to-morrow morning at revile' beating, up the new road to Hog-Creek, and to call at Paris's Fort for a Guide to shew the tracts and bushes which were seen and cut down this evening by report, and to proceed down the Creek. If he makes no material discoveries on the new road. To be very circumspect in his march, searching after the enemy; and then return with the party which marched out this evening to reinforce the Guard. The whole to be very alert, and alarm the Town upon the least noise.

Winchester, September 25, 1756.

Parole Falkirk.

The men are to parade at beating the long roll to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock; and be marched as usual to the Fort, to attend Divine Service. The Officers to be present at calling the roll, and see that the men do appear in the most decent manner they can.

*To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX

Mount Vernon, September 23, 1756.

Dear Madam: John[13] informs me that you told him Miss. Nancy West was to be at your House in a day or two; and that you wou'd, if I sent my Linnen over, give it to Miss. Nancy to make: I shall readily embrace the oppertunity of doing this, tho' I am at the same time, sorry to give you the trouble of directing about the making.

I have sent a piece of Irish Linnen, a piece of Cambrick, and a shirt to measure by. The Shirt Fits tolerably well, yet, I wou'd have the others made with somewhat narrower Wrist bands: Ruffles deeper by half an Inch: and the Collars by three quarters of an Inch, which is in other respects of proper bigness. If Miss. Nancy will do me the favour to get thread and button's suitable it will oblige me much I have really forget to procure them myself. Please to make my Compts. to Miss. Fairfax and Miss. West when you see her. I am Dr. Madam, etc. [M.L.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, September 28, 1756.

Honble. Sir: I arrived here last night, and find things in the peaceable state I left them on this Quarter; and therefore set out to-morrow for Augusta. As Mr. Walker has declined, it

[13] John Alton, a trusted servant of Washington.

is absolutely necessary to have a Commissary immediately appointed, who should have express orders where, and for what number of men to lay in Provisions; and should be furnished with cash before he sets out, as every thing will be got with less trouble & cheaper by that means. The time for buying provisions will soon be elapsed. I have ordered the Assistant Commissary here, that time may not be lost, to lay in twelve months provision for a thousand men. To have at each fort as much provision as will maintain the Garrison until the 1st May; and the rest to be lodged at this place of safety; so that in case an Expedition should be determined upon in the Spring, it may be in readiness, and the several Garrisons rendezvous'd, without the incumbrances of transporting stores and Provisions. These orders I have given, not knowing what else would be satisfactory; being ignorant of the plans, &c concerted, and acting entirely like a Wanderer in unknown paths! If it should not corroborate with your Honor's sentiments and with those of the Assembly, it is not too late to alter the directions, and give any others. It is for this purpose I mention it now that your Honor may, as Assembly are sitting, appoint the Commissary, and give me directions what quantity of provision to provide and in what magazines to lodge them; and then I will take the blame if it is not done, late as the season is.

The number of little paultry forts along the frontiers, render the forces very difficult and expensive to be supplied with provision. If the Assembly should continue determined to act defensively and should come into a Resolve of building a few Forts instead of the many intended, I would recommend only one at the most convenient place in each frontier county, vizt., Hampshire, Augusta, and Bedford, and that the one in Hampshire be built on a line betwixt this and Fort Du Quesne, and made cannon-proof; as it lies most exposed and has a free

communication for carriages from the Enemy. As to the others, there being no possibility, without first opening the roads, to approach them with Artillery I conceive if they are built large, regular and defensible against musketry it is sufficient, for others will be very expensive.

I desired to know in my last what should be done with the Ranging Companies, since that, I am told they have all deserted to a few. Their posts must be filled with a Company of the Regiment from the Branch; which will occasion fresh uneasiness to the Inhabitants, as they are continually pestered by the enemy; a party of whom was defeated the other day by Ensign Smith and 12 men of the Regiment, who killed one man, took a number of ———— moccasins, scalping knives, and 4 neat french Fuzees.

As Captain Mercer is summoned and must appear against Napp (as *I* do not) at the 6th day of the court, I expect he will get a supply of cash from the Treasurer, the *last* being *all* gone.

Blankets, Shirts & Cartridge-paper are much wanted for immediate use; and must if possible be soon provided, as we cannot do without them. They have had information on the Branch, that the Dunkers who are all Doctors) entertain the Indians who are wounded here, and that there were several then with them. Captain Spotswood marched out with 80 men to their Houses, to bring in all he finds there.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, September 28, 1756.

Sir: I arrived here last night, and observe your several letters concerning your present situation; and must acknowledge I have the greatest apprehensions of your danger: but as I have frequently expressed them to the Governor, and he has

returned me no satisfactory answer, and know the determination of the Assembly and Committee is against improving that Fort: I can not give any orders as to your erecting new, or strengthening the old works. I have (enclosing one of your letters on the subject) wrote in most express terms now: and as the Assembly are sitting, it will be laid before them by the Governor; I expect his answer, which I shall immediately acquaint you with.

The waggon you mention was proved here to be the property of a poor man, who was obliged to quit it near Cox's Fort, being pursued by the Indians, and it was delivered to him, but I never concerned with the Horses; I understand they were claimed here by people who have left their Settlements. You have more waggons and many strays. Upon a representation of the affair you are to be allowed two pistoles for the Rangers or Drafts you enlist; of which you may acquaint the Officers. I shall very shortly send up ten or twelve waggons, which you must load with what you think least necessary to you, and most so to the Enemy, should they fall into their hands. The powder and grape we shall want. There was no accompt. of the Stores sent down. This makes me at a losss what to order, so leave it to you. I set out for Augusta to-morrow, to settle affairs on that Quarter. I am &c.

*[To MRS. GEORGE WILLIAM FAIRFAX]

Mount Vernon [Sept.-Oct.? 1756.]

Dear Madam: Letters which I have just received from the President, and others from Winchester render it necessary for me to set out for Williamsburg tomorrow. If you, or any of the young Ladies have Letters to send, or other Commands that I can execute, I shoud be glad to be honoured with them.

and you may depend upon my punctuality, please to accept my Compliments yourself, and offer them to the young Ladies, and believe that I am with great truth and Sincerety etc.

[H.S.P.]

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Halifax, October 10, 1756.

Sir: This day within five miles of the Carolina line, as I was proceeding to the southernmost fort in Halifax, I met Major Lewis on his return from the Cherokees, with seven men and three women only of that nation. The causes of this unhappy disappointment I have desired him to communicate, that your Honor may take measures accordingly.[14] This account is sent by express, to give the earnest notice while the Assembly is sitting. I shall defer giving a particular detail of my remarks and observations on the situation of our frontiers, until I return to Winchester, as I expect by that time to be more intimately acquainted with the unhappy circumstances of the people. Yet I shall not omit mentioning some occurrences, which have happened in my tour to this place. I wrote your Honor from Winchester, that I should set out the next day for Augusta. I accordingly did, with Captain McNeill; and hearing at the Court-House, that the Indians still continue their depredations, although not so openly as at first, I applied to Colonel Stewart, then present, to raise a party of the militia, and said I would head them, and march to Jackson's River, to try to scour the woods, and, if possible, fall in with the enemy. He gave me very little encouragement to expect any men, yet desired I would wait four days, until Monday, and he would use his endeavours to collect a body. Until Tuesday I waited,

[14] There had been sanguine expectations that 400 Cherokee Indians would join the Virginia forces, and it was supposed that Major Lewis would return with that number.—*Ford.*

and only five men appeared. This being too inconsiderable a number to expose to a triumphant enemy, I was advised to apply to Colonel Buchanan for men, between whom and Colonel Stewart there was contention about command. As Colonel Buchanan lived at Luney's Ferry, on James River, sixty miles along the road to Vass's, on the Roanoke, where Captain Hogg was building a fort, to which place I did intend if I could have got men to range along the frontiers with me. I set out immediately for his house, attended by Captain Preston, who was kind enough to conduct me along, and acquainted the Colonel with the motives that brought me thither. He told me with very great concern, it was not in his power to raise men; for that, three days before, some of the militia in a fort, about fifteen miles above his house, at the head of Catawba Creek, commanded by one Colonel Nash, was attacked by the Indians, which occasioned all that settlement to break up totally, even to the ferry at Luney's; that he had ordered three companies to repair thither, to march against the enemy, and not one man came, except a captain, lieutenant, &c, and seven or eight men from Bedford. Finding then that it was impossible to get a party to range and scour the frontiers, it remained only to proceed without men to see the situation of the forts, or to return back again. The latter I was loath to do, as I had got thus far, and was anxious to see what posture of defence they were in. I therefore determined to come forward, at least to Vass's, and accordingly set out in company with Colonel Buchanan, who, being desirous that I might see and relate their unhappy circumstances, undertook to accompany me. We got safely to Vass's, where Captain Hogg, with only eighteen of his company, was building a fort, which must employ him till Christmas without more assistance. One Captain Hunt from Lunenburg, was there

with thirty men; but none of them would strike a stroke, unless I would engage to see them paid forty pounds of tobacco per day, which is provided by act of Assembly for militia carpenters. This I certainly could not do, as your Honor, (who I thought had ordered them purposely out for this duty,) had given no directions in the affair. Whatever expectations your Honor may have had from the militia assistance, I am told they never lent a hand, save a few, that first came out with Captain Hogg, whom he has paid after the same rates with our men, at sixpence per diem. Vass's place is a pass of very great importance, being a very great inroad of the enemy, and secure, if it was strongly garrisoned, all Bedford and the greatest part of this county, notwithstanding they have built three forts here, and *one* of them, if no more, erected in my opinion in a very out-of-the-way place. This they call Fort Trial.

From Vass's I came off with a servant and a guide, to visit the range of forts in this county; and in less than two hours after, two men were killed along the same road, as will appear by Captain McNeill's letter, which I have just received, and herewith send, to let your Honor see, by the account of Captain Hunt's behaviour, what dependence may be put in the militia. The inhabitants are so sensible of their danger, if left to the protection of these people, that not a man will stay at his place. This I have from their own mouths, and the principal persons of Augusta county. The militia are under such bad order and discipline, that they will go and come when and where they please, without regarding time, their officers, or the safety of the inhabitants, but consulting solely their own inclinations. There should be, according to your Honor's orders, one third of the militia of these parts now on duty at once; instead of that, I believe scarce one-thirteenth is out. They are to be relieved every month; they are more than that time marching to

and from their stations, and will not wait one day longer than the limited time, whether they are relieved or not, let the necessity for it be ever so urgent. An instant of this happened in my presence about four days ago, in the case of Captain Daniel from Albemarle, who was intreated by Colonel Buchanan to stay, at the time he was gathering or attempting to gather men, upon that alarm of the Catawba settlement before mentioned. But his month was out, and go he must and did. Nay, I believe I may venture to say, that, whether his month had been out or not, this would have induced him to go; for this gentleman went away fom Vass's, because he thought it a dangerous post, giving that for his reason, and left Captain Hogg with eighteen men, exposed to the insults of the enemy.

Perhaps it may be thought I am partial in my relation, and reflect unjustly. I really do not, Sir. I scorn to make unjust remarks on the behaviour of the militia, as much as I despise and contemn the persons, who detract from mine and the character of the regiment. Were it not, that I consulted the good of the public, and thought these garrisons merited redress, I should not think it worth my mention. I only want to make the country sensible, how ardently I have studied to promote her cause, and wish very sincerely, my successor may fill my place more to their satisfaction in every respect, than I have been able to do. I mentioned in my last to your Honor, that I did not think a less number than two thousand men would be sufficient to defend our extensive and much exposed frontiers from the ravages of the enemy. I have not had one reason yet to alter my opinion, but many to strengthen and confirm it. And I flatter myself, the country will, when they know my determinations, be convinced that I have no sinister views, no vain motives of commanding a number of men, that urge me to recommend this number to your Honor, but that it proceeds

from the knowledge I have acquired of the country, people, &c, to be defended.

Your Honor, I hope, will give directions about laying in provisions on our southern frontiers. It is not in my power to do it, as I know not what troops can or will be put there; for the regiment is at present too weak to allow any men to march from the quarter in which they are now stationed. I set out this day on my return to the fort, at the head of Catawba, where Colonel Buchanan promised to meet me with a party to conduct me along our frontiers, up Jackson's River to Fort Dinwiddie, and higher if needful. If he does not meet me, I shall immediately proceed to Winchester, as it will be impossible to do any thing without men.

If your Honor thinks proper to advance the pay of the militia, in order to engage them to work, please to acquaint Captain Hogg therewith, and send him money for that purpose, and were there more men ordered to cover his party, and assist in the work, it would be highly advisable, for he lies greatly exposed. Major Lewis is extremely unwell. This express is referred to your Honor for pay. I have not money to do it. I am hurried a good deal, but have given a plain account of all those several matters mentioned in the foregoing sheet. I am, &c.

To MAJOR DAVID LEWIS[15]

Fort Dinwiddie, October 18, 1756.

Sir: Lieutenant Bullet, who commands at this place, in the absence of Captain Hogg, tells me that he applied to you for a few men to join such parties as this Garrison can afford, to range the woods, and assist the inhabitants in securing their Grain, gathering their Corn, &c, and that you have refused to

[15] Of the Albemarle militia, at Millers Fort.

aid him. I conceive if you did so, it must have proceeded from a misapprehension of his meaning. Therefore I apply to you myself on this head; and desire your compliance, or reasons for refusing.

I presume, Sir, it will be needless to acquaint you; your own good sense will doubtless evince it, that the intent of sending men hither was to protect the frontier inhabitants, and offer them comfort by relieving their distresses, and wants; which not in any wise be accomplished, while you remain in a body at a certain place, forted in, as if to defend yourselves were the sole end of your coming.

You will I hope excuse the liberty I have taken in mentioning this affair, when I tell you I am in a great measure authorized by the Governor to direct in these matters.

To LIEUTENANT COLONEL ADAM STEPHEN

Winchester, October 23, 1756.

Sir: Last night I returned from a very long and troublesome jaunt on the Frontiers, as far as Mayo; where affairs seem to be in a dangerous situation: and to add to our misfortunes, I find our neighbourhood here on the wing, you and your Garrison in great distress and danger; the Enemy ravaging the country about Conogochieg, Stony-Run, and South Branch; loud and general complaints for protection; few or no men to send abroad for any Service. In short, so melancholy a scene, without the power of changing it to our satisfaction and interest, fills me with the greatest anxiety and uneasiness. I shall recite you all the Governor's last letter to me relative to Fort Cumberland as I had written for his positive directions, vizt.:

You have frequently complained to me of the situation, &c, of Fort Cumberland, and I have wrote you how disagreeable it was to me to give up any place of strength, as it wou'd raise the spirits of the enemy,

at the same time suspect us to be in fear of them; and therefore if that place could be sustained with safety, till Lord Loudoun gives orders thereon, I should be glad. But as you are upon the spot, and think it very prejudicial to the Service to keep that Fortress; I desire you may call a council of officers and consult, whether the most advisable to keep it or demolish it, if the last, you must take care to have all the ammunition, &c. brought to Winchester; and detroy every thing which you conceive may be of any service to the enemy. This affair is now left to the determination of a Council of Officers; and I desire you to be very explicit in your arguments on the head, as they must be laid before Lord Loudoun. I was always averse to small garrisons on our frontiers, as they in course divide our men into small parties, but you know that the Assembly were so fond of them, that they passed a Law for that purport—and I cannot at present alter that determination.[16]

Thus far his Honor. As it appears to be an affair of much importance, I cannot pretend to offer my advice, but would desire you and the officers there to deliberate seriously in Council, what you think most proper, to be done; and send me immediate notice that I may come up with a sufficient number of waggons, (if to be abandoned) to remove the Stores, and likewise to hold a General Court Martial on the matter, to avoid future reflection. I have frequently mentioned my dislike to the place, for these Reasons: First, Its insufficiency for any tolerable defence, Secondly, its distance from the inhabitants, difficulty of communication, and answering no other purpose than burying the service of 170 Men, in guarding the Stores, which might be more conveniently done in other forts. Indeed, had we men enough to afford constant scouting parties from that place and cou'd defend the country hereabouts, I shou'd approve its being supported and improved in strength on account of the advantages we might expect from it, but as this is not the case, I look upon it as rather prejudicial to the

[16] The original, dated September 30, is in the *Washington Papers*, and is printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*, vol. 1, p. 372.

country. The additional works you mention as necessary to strengthen the fort, I cannot consent to without positive orders from the Governor; as I shou'd become answerable from my own Estate for such expenses; unless commanded by the Governor or Assembly. The Assembly is prorogu'd to the second Thursday of next month, when we may depend upon some alterations in our present constitution: and if you think, after the removal of part of the Stores, it can be maintained, till we have their determination, probably may be more advisable, as His Excellency Lord Loudoun is then expected. But upon the whole, as you must be a better judge of your own situation and danger, and the Governor leaving the affair to a council of Officers, I refer the case entirely to your discretion; hoping you will observe the greatest circumspection and prudence in all your measures; so that we may be liable to no blame for any future consequences. Enclosed is a scheme I intend to offer the Assembly, if they cannot be persuaded off their *defensive* notions, although I am determined to urge my utmost to evince the advantages and necessity of an offensive campaign; as you and every body else must allow that carrying the war into the enemy's country is the surest method of peace at home and success abroad. And until an attempt is formed against Duquesne, so as to remove the fountain of all our disturbance and trouble, we never may expect a peaceable day. The policy of the French is so subtle that not a friendly Indian will we have on the continent, if we do not soon dislodge them from the Ohio.

I shall exert every power to make this plan go down with the Assembly, and press them to vigorous measures for the safety and interest of the Country, preferably to the Defensive, and demonstrate fully to them every thing I think demands their concern, as to the Frontiers. I also would have you collect

whatever comes under your own observation in these respects, that we may omit nothing requisite for the Assembly's regard. As the fund for support of the Rangers is long since exhausted, the Governor orders them to be discharged. You will therefore acquaint the officers and men of these Companies, that they are discharged accordingly, &c, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 23, 1756.

Parole Dinwiddie.

It is Colonel Washington's positive orders to the Officers of the Day, to Captain Stone, and all Overseers of the public works, not to suffer any man to straggle from his work, on any pretence whatever, as they are constantly running about the Streets, when they shou'd be employed. Therefore no man is to be seen in town without a ticket in writing from his Overseer, setting forth the reasons of his being absent. It is likewise expected the Overseers will be more circumspect in staying with the men, and not leave their stations, until the hours allotted for their refreshment, as they shall answer for the same.

The men are to be acquainted, that if any is found acting contrary to these orders, he will immediately be sent up to the Fort, and punished. It is likewise recommended to all Officers on duty, to examine every straggling Soldier they see in town without proper permits; that they do directly put the above Orders into execution.

The Drummers to take the Guard to-morrow as usual; and no man to be excused from work on any pretence, except by the Doctor. And those who stay not in the Hospital, are to be brought before the Doctor at Breakfast time, by a Sergeant or Corporal of each company, that he may pass his opinion of

their capacity to work. Any Sergeant or Corporal, found screening any person on any pretence, and acting contrary to the above Orders, will not only be reduced, but also punished.

The Colonel having indulged them hitherto, is resolved not to forgive such evil practices for the future.

ORDERS

Winchester, October 28, 1756.

Parole Blakeney.

As Colonel Washington is to hold conference with the Catawba Indians, betwixt eleven and twelve o'clock. He desires all the Officers in town to attend at that time. And during the time of conference, he orders a Sergeant and Drummer to beat through the Town, ordering all Soldiers and Towns people to use the Indians civilly and kindly; to avoid giving them liquor, and to be cautious what they speak before them: as all of them understand english, and ought not to be affronted.

SPEECH TO CAPTAIN JOHNNE, CATAWBAS[17]

[Winchester, October 28, 1756.]

Capt. Johnne: We Desire you to go to the Cherokees, and tell them the Road is now clear and Open; We expected them to War last Spring, and love them So well, that Our Governor Sent Some few men to build a fort among them; but we are mighty Sorry that they hearken so much to lies French tell, as to break their promise and not come to war, when they might have got a great deal of honour; and kill'd a great many of the

[17] The Catawbas were one of the eight Indian nations of North America discovered by the Europeans in the seventeenth century. Their region lay southward of the Tuscaroras, between the Yadkin and Catawba Rivers. They were brave, but not aggressive, in warfare, and although at one time they belonged to the powerful league of southern Indians who were determined to extirpate the whites, later on they allied themselves with the English and remained stanch friends to them ever after.—Hamilton's *Letters to Washington*.

French, whose hearts are false, and rotten as an old Stump. If they Continue to Listen to What the French Say much longer they will have great cause to be sorry, as the French have no Match locks, pow'd and Lead but what they got from King George our father, before the War began and that will soon be out; when they will get no more, and all the French Indians will be starving with Cold, and must take to Bows and Arrows again for want of Ammunition.

Tell them we long to Shake hands with them;

Let them get their knives and tomhawkes Sharpe, we will go before them, and show them the way to honour, Scalps, prisoners, and money Enough, We are mighty sorry they stay at home idle, when they should go to War, and become great men, and a terror and dread to their Enemies. Tell them they shall have Victuals enough, and used very kindly.

REMARKS ON THE COUNCIL OF WAR[18]

[November 5, 1756.]

Upon receiving orders from His Honor Governor Dinwiddie to hold a Council of War upon the necessity of continuing or discontinuing Fort Cumberland, I immediately directed Lt. Col. Stephen (it being impracticable to attend myself, while absent on a tour reviewing the southern frontiers) to summon the officers of that Fort and the neighboring Garrisons to take the affair into their serious consideration. Their sentiments in my opinion are fully and impartially delivered on the other side, both in respect of its condition, situation and importance, as respecting Virginia, and the provinces of

[18]The proceedings of this council (at which Washington was not present) held October 30, at Fort Cumberland, and of which Lieut. Col. Adam Stephen was president, are in the *Washington Papers.* Ford prints them in volume 1, page 36. They are also printed in Hamilton's *Letters to Washington;* but Washington's remarks are quite understandable without the proceedings.

Pennsylvania and Maryland in general. The situation of Fort Cumberland is extremely unsuitable for defence, and in no ways fit for fortification; and a fort some-where in that neighbourhood rather more advanced to the westward, well-fortified and strongly garrisoned wou'd contribute much to the mutual safety and interest of these three Colonies.

Because it secures the only gap of the Alleghany at present made passable for wheel-carriages and which wou'd forward an Expedition to the Ohio. Now wou'd the three Colonies consent to furnish proportionable supplies for so beneficial and salutary a design; I shou'd think it highly expedient to maintain that pass by erecting a Fortress of strength towards the Little Meadows, in advance to the Enemy, which wou'd give us yet more advantages and Fort Cumberland wou'd still answer its present purposes without attempting its improvement while covered by the other. Or should Virginia herself take the weight of this Enterprize; or could it be accomplished by any means whatever, I shou'd be extremely fond of the expedient. But to view Fort Cumberland in its present defenceless posture, relative to Virginia in particular, and at this gloomy juncture of affairs; I can not entertain very favourable sentiments of supporting *it*, for these reasons, vizt. 1st. 'Tis evident the Maryland Assembly have given up, all their lands above the Tonollaways, by building Fort Frederick below, ordering in the Inhabitants above, and withdrawing their Troops from Fort Cumberland. From them we may expect small succours, and what hope we may have of Pennsylvanias aid towards this salutary purpose, I am yet to learn. They have large and extensive frontiers, and have hitherto acted on the Defensive.

2ly. Fort Cumberland lying in the province of Maryland and remote from our Settlements, can of course contribute little to their protection, without a numerous garrison is kept

therein to detach strong parties to reconnoiter at a distance, and waylay the enemy almost at their own homes; as there are various paths that lead to the inhabitants, without coming near Fort Cumberland.

3ly. Fort Cumberland being in Maryland, it prevents a great part of our Force from acting there; in consequence of an Act of Assembly, prohibiting those Troops to march out of the Colony. These forces, thus restricted are to be discharged the 1st December; by which means not only Fort Cumberland, but many other places will be rendered so weak (without immediate supplies; and how easily these are obtained, I appeal to sad experience!) that their conquest wou'd be easy, if attempted. Lastly. As to the works, they are already well described, as quite insufficient to resist a common *swivel;* and must require new improvement, if continued which wou'd be better be bestowed on a new and more suitable situation; and without the conjunction of the two provinces to carry on this proposal, it wou'd be next to impossible for Virginia (which has hitherto defrayed the charge and refuses any further supplies for that purpose) to maintain and support His Majesty's fort under their present feeble force. For by putting a Garrison there of strength requisite to defend it, and keep up the difficult communication with the inhabitants at so great a distance wou'd employ more than half our men, and of consequence unguard the rest of our frontiers.

As to the Address of the Council to me for reinforcement, they must have known that it was out of my power to grant it. The Garrison at that place was appointed in consequence of a former council of war; and a large proportion of our force alloted to act on the defensive there. Whilst the remainder were divided for the protection of other places; which wou'd be equally unadvisable to leave open and exposed.

Upon the whole, were it at any other time than this, knowing the *weakness* of our *strength* doubting the assistance of our neighbours, and dreading the consequence of leaving the place longer exposed, altho' great part of the Stores is already removed, I shou'd vote for demolishing it. But the affair being of great importance, I only offer my sentiments; and submit to his Honor the Governor and the approaching Assembly, for a determination of the case.

LOCATION OF THE FORTS

[November 9, 1756.]

A Plan of the Number of Forts, and strength necessary to each extending entirely across our Frontiers, from South to North.

Names of the forts, or persons commandg. in 'em.	On what waters placed.	Distance from each other in miles.	No. of men Garrisoning each.
Capt. Harris	Mayo		20
Galloway	Smith's river	15	20
Terry	Black water	26	20
Hogg	Roanoke	26	150
Not built	Do at Bryants	18	50
Fort William	Catawba Bra. of Jas. river	18	75
Not built	Craik's Creek, Bra. of Jas. river	15	40
Dickersons [19]	Jackson's river	18	250
Brakenridge	Do	16	40
Fort Dinwiddie	Do	14	100
Christy	Do	14	40
Between this & Trout Rock —not yet built		18	50
Trout Rock, not bu	So. Branch	15	75
Upper Settlement	Do	20	60
Fort Defiance	Do	20	60
Fort Pleasant	Do	20	60
Fort at Cockes's	Patterson's Creek	20	500
Fort at Ashby's	Do	12	60
Fort at Parkers	So. Branch	10	30
Enochs, not built	Cacapehon	15	75
Maidstone	Potomack	30	125
Winchester	———		100
		Total	2,000

[19] Spelled indifferently Dickinson's, Dickersons, or Dickenson's.

This plan is calculated upon the most moderate and easy terms for sparing the country expences, and I believe with tolerable justness may answer the design of protecting the inhabitants. It may be objected, that the distance between some of the forts is too small; in answer to which I must observe they are generally fixed upon the heads of creeks, &c, extending towards the Alleghany mountains with almost inaccessible mountains between them, and are placed in the most commodious manner for securing the inhabitants of such waters. Some Garrisons are larger than others, according as they cover a thick or thin settlement. The fort at Vass's (which Capt. Hogg is now building) is in a much exposed gap; subject to the inroads of the Southern Indians, and in a manner covers the greatest part of Bedford and Halifax.

Dickersons is situated for the defence of a once numerous and fertile settlement, on the Bull Cow and Calf pastures; and lies directly in the Shawnese path to Ohio, and must be a place of rendezvous, if an Expedition is conducted against the Ohio Indians below Duquesne.

The Garrisons on the Potomack waters, are yet larger than any; because an invasion is most to be dreaded on this Quarter.

It will be seen Fort Cumberland is not mentioned in this plan. If we act only on the defensive (a system on which this plan is founded) I think it employs a large garrison to very little advantage to Virginia. If we act offensively, it may be of infinite use, if properly fortified; and the Garrison at Cockes's will then only consist of about 50 or 60, as the rest may be removed to Fort Cumberland.[20]

[20] "As to the affair of Fort Cumberland, I own it gives me great uneasiness; and I am of the same opinion with you, that it was very material to have supported that fort this winter, and after that we could easily have made it a better post than ever it has been, from what I hear of it. I can't agree with Co. Washington in not drawing into him the posts from the stockade forts in order to defend the advanced one; and I should imagine much more of the frontier will be exposed by retiring their advanced post near Winchester, where I understand he is retired; for, from your letter, I take it for granted he has before this executed his plan without waiting for any

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Honble. Sir: In mine from Halifax I promised your Honor a particular detail of my remarks and observations upon the situation of our frontiers, when I arrived at this place. Although I was pretty explicit in my former, I cannot avoid recapitulating part of the subject *now,* as my duty, and its importance for redress are strong motives.

From Fort Trial on Smith's River, I returned to Fort William on the Catawba, where I met Colonel Buchanan with about thirty men, (chiefly officers,) to conduct me up Jackson's River, along the range of forts. With this small company of irregulars, with whom order, regularity, circumspection, and vigilance were matters of derision and contempt, we set out, and, by the protection of Providence, reached Augusta Court-House in seven days, without meeting the enemy; otherwise we must have fallen a sacrifice, through the indiscretion of these whooping, hallooing *gentlemen* soldiers!

This jaunt afforded me an opportunity of seeing the bad regulation of the militia, the disorderly proceedings of the garrisons, and the unhappy circumstances of the inhabitants.

First, of the militia. The difficulty of collecting them upon any emergency whatever, I have often spoken of as grevious; and I appeal to sad experience, both in this and other countries, how great a disadvantage it is; the enemy having every opportunity to plunder, kill, and escape, before they can afford any assistance. And not to mention the expensiveness of their service in general, I can instance several cases, where a captain,

advice. If he leaves any of the great quantity of stores behind, it will be very unfortunate, and he ought to consider it must lie at his own door. This proceeding, I am afraid, will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and will not have a good appearance at home."—*Loudoun to Dinwiddie,* November or December, 1756.

lieutenant, and, I may add, an ensign, with two or three sergeants, and six or eight men, will go upon duty at a time. The proportion of expense in this case is so unjust and obvious, your Honor wants not to be proved.

Then these men, when raised, are to be continued only one month on duty, half of which time is lost in their marching out and home, (especially those from the adjacent counties,) who must be on duty some time before they reach their stations; by which means double sets of men are in pay at the same time, and for the same service. Again, the waste of provision they make is unaccountable; no method or order in being served or purchasing at the best rates, but quite the reverse. Allowance for each man, as other soldiers do, they look upon as the highest indignity, and would *sooner* starve, than carry a few days' provision on their backs for conveniency. But upon their march, when breakfast is wanted, knock down the first beef, &c, they meet with, and, after regaling themselves, march on until dinner, when they take the same method, and so for supper likewise, to the great oppression of the people. Or, if they chance to impress cattle for provision, the valuation is left to ignorant and indifferent neighbours, who have suffered by those practices, and, despairing of their pay, exact high prices, and thus the public is imposed on at all events. I might add, I believe, that, for the want of proper laws to govern the militia by (for I cannot ascribe it to any other cause), they are obstinate, self-willed, perverse, of little or no service to the people, and very burthensome to the country. Every *mean* individual has his own crude notions of things, and must undertake to direct. If his advice is neglected, he thinks himself slighted, abased, and injured; and, to redress his wrongs, will depart for his home. These, Sir, are literally matters of fact, partly from persons of undoubted veracity, but chiefly from my own observations.

Secondly, concerning the garrisons. I found them very weak for want of men; but more so by indolence and irregularity. None I saw in a posture of defence, and few that might not be surprised with the greatest ease. An instance of this appeared at Dickinson's Fort, where the Indians ran down, caught several children playing under the walls, and had got to the gate before they were discovered. Was not Vass's Fort surprised, and a good many souls lost, in the same manner? They keep no guard, but just when the enemy is about; and are under fearful apprehensions of them; nor ever stir out of the forts, from the time they reach them, till relieved on their month being expired; at which time they march off, be the event what it will. So that the neighbourhood may be ravaged by the enemy, and they not the wiser. Of the ammunition they are as careless as of the provisions, firing it away frequently at targets for wagers. On our journey, as we approached one of their forts, we heard a quick fire for several minutes, and concluded for certain that they were attacked; so we marched in the best manner to their relief; but when we came up, we found they were diverting at marks. These men afford no assistance to the unhappy settlers, who are drove from their plantations, either in securing their harvests, or gathering in their corn. Lieutenant Bullet, commanding at Fort Dinwiddie, sent to Major Lewis of Albemarle, who commanded a party of sixty militia at Miller's, about fifteen miles above him, where were also thirty men of Augusta, for some men to join his small parties to gather the corn. Major Lewis refused assistance, and would not divide his men. I wrote to him, but got no answer. Mr. Bullet has done what he could with his few; not quite thirty. Of the many forts, which I passed by, I saw but one or two that had their captains present, they being absent chiefly on their own business, and had given leave to

several of the men to do the same. Yet these persons, I will venture to say, will charge the country their full month's pay.

Thirdly, the wretched and unhappy situation of the inhabitants needs few words, after a slight reflection on the preceding circumstances, which must certainly draw after them very melancholy consequences without speedy redress. They are truly sensible of their misery; they feel their insecurity from militia preservation, who are slow in coming to their assistance, indifferent about their preservation, unwilling to continue, and regardless of every thing but their own ease. In short, they are so affected with approaching ruin, that the whole back country is in a general motion towards the southern colonies; and I expect that scarce a family will inhabit Frederick, Hampshire, or Augusta, in a little time. They petitioned me in the most earnest manner for companies of the regiment. But alas! it is not in my power to assist them with any, except I leave this dangerous quarter more exposed than they are. I promised, at their particular request, to address your Honor and the Assembly in their behalf, and that a regular force may be established in lieu of the militia and ranging companies, which are of much less service, and infinitely more cost to the country. Were this done, the whole would be under one direction, and any misbehaviour could never pass with impunity. Whereas the others are soldiers at will, and in fact will go and come when and where they please, without regarding the orders or directions of any. And, indeed, the manner in which some of the ranging captains have obtained their commissions, if I am rightly informed, is by imposture and artifice. They produce a list, I am told, to your Honor, of sundry persons, who are willing to serve under them. One part, it is said, are of fictitious names; another, the names of persons who never saw the list; and the remainder are persons drawn into it by fallacious

promises, that cannot be complied with without detriment to the service. But were it otherwise, surely any person, who considers the pay of the soldiers and that of the militia, will find a considerable difference, tho' both under the best regulations.

As defensive measures are evidently insufficient for the security and safety of the country, I hope no arguments are requisite to convince of the necessity of altering them to a vigorous offensive war, in order to remove the cause. But, should the Assembly still indulge that favorite scheme of protecting the inhabitants by forts along the frontiers, in which many of them too put their dependence, and as the building of these forts has been encouraged and confirmed by an act of the Assembly, I take the liberty to present your Honor with a plan of the number of forts, and strength necessary to each, reaching entirely across our frontiers from north to south. This plan is calculated upon the most moderate and easy terms for sparing the country's expense, and, I believe, with tolerable propriety to answer the wished-for design of protecting the settlers. Besides, most of the forts are already built by the country-people or soldiers, and require but little improvement, save one or two, as Dickinson's and Cox's. Your Honor will see Fort Cumberland excluded in this list.

The advantage of having the militia in Augusta, &c, under one command, I have already hinted; and I think Major Lewis should have your Honor's orders to take that duty in hand, with directions and orders to secure those important passes of Dickinson's and Vass's, by building a fort in the neighbourhood of Dickinson's, or by other means. And were it practicable to get the people to assemble in little towns contiguous to these forts, it would contribute much to their mutual peace and safety, during the continuance of the Indian war. The Augusta people complain greatly for want of money.

The other day eleven Indians of the Catawba tribe came here, and we undoubtedly might have had more of them, had the proper means been used to send trusty guides to invite and conduct them to us; but this is neglected. One Matthew Tool makes his boast of stopping *them* until he shall be handsomely rewarded for bringing them; and Major Lewis can inform your Honor of one Bemer, who uses every method to hinder the Cherokees from coming to our assistance. Complaint should be made to Governor Littleton of these persons. Indian goods are much wanted to reward the Catawbas, and encourage them to engage in our service. In what manner are they to be paid for scalps? Are our soldiers entitled to the reward like indifferent people? It is a tedious and expensive way to defer payment until proved and sent to your Honor.

Your Honor and the Assembly should determine these points and many others very essential, vizt., a proper method of paying rewards for taking up deserters, the present being very discouraging, in delaying payment until Courts of Claims, &c.; means to replace the drafts, that must be discharged in December; ascertaining the pay of workmen employed on all public works, or empowering the commanding officer to agree on the cheapest terms with them; how the servants enlisted for the Virginia regiment are to be paid for. We have already recruited fifty odd and are daily dunned for payment by the masters. A report prevails, to my great surprise, tho' disbelief, that your Honor had told some persons, who applied to you for satisfaction for their servants, that I had no orders to enlist any. This false rumor occasions very strange reflections, and must make me appear in a very unjust light to the world. I have, therefore, desisted from recruiting until your Honor directs me in what manner those already obtained are to be satisfied; and I beg your Honor will give me immediate advice on

the affair, as the people are impatient, and threaten us with prosecutions from all quarters.

Your Honor has herewith a copy of the council of war, held in behalf of Fort Cumberland, in which the arguments are justly and fully laid down, both with regard to Virginia in particular, and in general, as to the three colonies whose mutual interest highly concerns, and should be by them equitably supported. On the back of the copy are my sentiments on the matter candidly offered your Honor,[21] and to your Honor I leave the determination of this important affair, with the officers of the council. I have frequently wrote your Honor, desiring you would appoint a commissary in lieu of Mr. Walker, who has declined acting, and been absent for many months; but as I never had your Honor's answer, I have in consequence of your first and since repeated instructions made choice of a person, who I believe will do that duty with every necessary diligence and care; and hope your Honor will approve my proceeding. The £100 paid Colo. Stephen of the Ranger's money (by Colonel Fairfax) have already been accounted for to the Committee. I have since received from Colo. Fairfax £68.13.9 on the country's credit, and to be settled with my other accompts.

As touching a chaplain, if the government will grant a subsistence, we can readily get a person of merit to accept of the place, without giving the commissary any trouble on that point, as it is highly necessary we should be reformed from those crimes and enormities we are so universally accused of.[22]

Your Honor has had advice of two spies, that were taken at Fort Cumberland; one of whom they quickly hung up as his

[21] See Remarks on the Council of War, November 5, *ante*.

[22] In reply to a request for the appointment of a chaplain to the regiment, Governor Dinwiddie wrote (November 16): "In regard to a Chaplain, you should know that it's necessary his qualifications and the Bishop's Letter of License should be produced to the Commissary and Self, but this Person is also nameless."

just reward, being a deserter; the other was sent to Governor Sharpe, to give information of the infernal practices followed by some of the priests of that province, in holding correspondence with our enemy.[23] I am just setting out for Fort Cumberland. I am, &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Dear Sir: I am just returned from a tedious and troublesome tour around our frontiers which has afforded me many unpleasing views of the melancholy condition of our Countrymen: arising chiefly from the indolence and irregularity of the Militia, posted in different places for their protection.

I have always made it a principle of duty to promote the interest and Service of my Country by every endeavour, in contempt of all the calumny and censure that malice and ill-nature may suggest. And as many matters require speedy redress; I shall hint such as I think claim the serious regard of the approaching Assembly; which I hope will be received as the sincere dictates of a dispassionate mind, void of every view but the public good!

1st. The bad order of the Militia, and the insufficiency of defending the Inhabitants by them, are absolute certainties I have long been convinced of: But in Augusta and other frontier counties, they prove it by sad experience; which I have often regretted. The difficulty of collecting them in time of danger is so prejudicial, that the Enemy have every oppertunity to plunder, kill, scalp, and escape before they appear. The want of order, regulation and obedience, prevent any good effects, their assistance and force might have. For every

[23] A priest by the name of Neal had employed a William Johnston or Johnson as a messenger two years before. Governor Sharpe obtained considerable information from the latter. (See Correspondence of Sharpe, *Maryland Archives*, vol. 6, pp. 501–504.)

petty person must assume command, direct and advise: otherwise he takes huff, thinks his wisdom and merit affronted, and so marches off in high contempt of every social Law. Then the expensiveness of supporting them, is in general very burthensome but where instances are of a Capt. Lieut. and Ensign, with two or three Sergeants, and six or eight men, going upon duty at a time; The disproportion of men and Officers is so remarkable as to need no further proof of the injustice done the country. Again, the waste of provision is unaccountable; they follow no method in serving a certain quota to each man. This wou'd be the highest indignity and they would sooner starve than carry a few days provision on their backs, for conveniency, as other Soldiers do. But regardless and prodigal of every thing; upon their marches they kill the first cattle they meet with, when Breakfast is wanted; and after this repast, march on 'till Dinner calls, then take the same method and so also for Supper; leaving the remainder after eating, for Wolves and buzzards. If by chance they impress provisions; the valuation is left to ignorant and indifferent people, who have themselves suffered by those practices; and who, despairing of pay, exact high prices. Lastly these Militia being raised only for a month, lose half the time in marching out and home (especially those who come from the adjacent counties) who must be on duty sometime before they reach their Station; by which means double sets of men are in pay at the same time, and for the same Service.

2ly. The Garrison I found weak for want of men; but more so thro' indolence and want of order. None I saw were in a posture of defence; and few that might not be surprized with the greatest ease. An instance whereof happened at Dickerson's fort; when the Indians ran down, caught several children playing under the Walls, and had got to the Fort gate before

they were discovered. Thus Vass's fort was surprized and lost with the Garrison. They keep no Guards, but just when the enemy is about, or under fearful apprehensions of them: nor ever stir out of the forts from the time they reach them, until relieved, when their month is out: and then they march off, whatever be the event. Their diligence and resolution in pursuing the enemy are exemplified in Capt. Hunt, of Lunenburgh; who was persuaded by Capt. McNeil, on seeing a poor man inhumanly massacred on the road close by where I came, to go in search of the Savages. They followed the tracks, and came to a run, thro' which they had just passed, it being muddy, and the stones yet wet; the number of the enemy was supposed to be about 20, by all the signs that appeared. Here the Captain stopped, and finding he came fast up with them thought proper to desist his pursuit; and after some consultation with his men, contrary to the advice and entreaties of Capt. McNeil, &c. &c. did retreat; as appears by the depositions of Capt. McNeil and Colo. Buchanan on this occasion; nor is this the only instance. Some Militia of this county under Capt. Riddle, upon a late alarm, refused to proceed; on coming to fires from which Indians had just fled. All this owing to want of due command and obedience. The Militia are likewise negligent of their ammunition, and waste it in as great profusion as they do their provision; hunting with it, and firing it away at marks for wagers, &c. as I found in my last Journey. Of the many Forts I passed by, I saw but few that had the Captain present: most of them absent on their own business, and had given leave for many of the men to do the same.

From these and other circumstances too tedious to mention, it must appear a very natural conclusion, that the situation of the Frontiers is much to be pitied. And indeed they have a thorough sense of their danger, while dependant on the

protection of the Militia: To avoid which they in general declare they must move off to the southward, without some favourable alteration in a little time. They petitioned me with the greatest earnestness for some Companies of the Regiment: But alas! it is out of my power to assist them with any. Unless I shou'd leave this dangerous quarter more exposed than they are. I promised to remonstrate in their behalf to the Assembly and Governor, that a Regular Force might be established in lieu of the Militia and Ranging Companies; which are of much less service, and of infinitely more cost, to the Country. Were this done, the whole wou'd be under one Direction; and no misbehaviour pass unpunished. Whereas the others are Soldiers at will, and in fact will go and come when and where they please, without regarding the Orders or direction of any person. I have likewise been informed, several of the Ranging Captains have obtained their Commissions by a subtle fraud imposed on the Governor. The certainty of advantage by an offensive scheme of action, is beyond any doubt much preferable to our defensive measures, and requires no arguments with you, Sir, I presume, for proof. Our scattered force avails little to stop the secret incursions of the Savages; so separated and dispersed into weak parties: and can only perhaps put them to flight, or 'fright them to another part of the Country; which answers not the end proposed. Whereas, had we strength enough to invade their lands, and assault their Towns, we shou'd then restrain them from coming abroad, and leave their families exposed. We should then remove the principal cause, and have stronger probability of success. We shou'd then be free from the many alarms, mischiefs and murders that now attend us. We shou'd then inspirit up the hearts of our few Indian friends, and gain more esteem with them. In short cou'd Pennsylvania and Maryland be induced to join us in an

expedition of this nature; and to petition His Excellency Lord Loudon, for a small train of Artillery, with some Engineers. We shou'd then be able in all human probability to subdue the terror of Fort DuQuesne; retrieve our character with the Indians, and restore peace to our unhappy Frontiers.

I wish sincerely the three Colonies cou'd be brought to act in conjunction as our frontiers are so contigious, and our mutual interest so closely connected. But, shou'd our Assembly still pursue the defensive, by confiding in the security of Forts; a system of much incertainty and danger, where the frontiers is so very extensive, and next to an impossibility of being defended; after all shou'd they yet encourage this method allow me, Sir, to offer a plan of the strength necessary to support these Forts, and the number of Forts that is requisite, most of which are already built by the Militia and Soldiers and want little improvement; save those of Dickenson and Cocks's.

This plan is calculated upon the most moderate terms; and employs as few men as possibly can be proposed for the Service. And indeed the most probable method to render this plan efficacious wou'd be to induce the inhabitants to assemble in Townships, contiguous to these Forts; as many of them seem agreeable to the proposal, and would be more encouraged by the sanction of the Assembly. Then they cou'd cultivate their lands, preserve their Stocks, and contribute to their mutual security.

Thus did the New Englanders settle when infested as we are now. And answers well in either case, defensive or offensive. The number of men I have computed also, to serve in both cases, fewer cou'd not do, to afford a number sufficient to join in an expedition, and leave enough to preserve the Forts. And, shou'd they only act as Scouts, in defending the country; a less

number could not afford constant Ranging parties, and cover the scattered inhabitants: besides the expence of 2000 Regulars, would not surpass the present charge of the Militia, Rangers, &c. now employed. And to raise this number of men, I know of no other method than to enlist Servants, even Convicts not excepted; the difficulty will be so great. We have already recruited 50 Servants or more, in consequence of the Governors Orders; but no provision being yet made for satisfying their masters by act of Assembly, I shou'd be glad to know what must be done in this case, as I am constantly importuned for their value. In case the Assembly shou'd come to the resolution of raising this number of men; I wou'd recommend the plan of Regulation I formerly offered in a letter to you of the 16th. April, when the Assembly were sitting.

As the Act for punishing Munity and desertion, is now expired; I wou'd press the Assemblys' regard to enforce the articles of war in general: at least so many of them as are not incompatible with the nature of the Service and establish certain rules for the regulation of your Troops. Also, some other method of paying rewards for taking up Deserters; as it is but small encouragement to be refered to a court of claims, then to the Assembly, and lie some years out of the money; whereas, had they immediate satisfaction, it wou'd be a great inducement to the people to be active in apprehending them. And cou'd the common people be brought better acquainted with the Laws against Desertion, and the rewards offered for discouraging it, we would perhaps lose fewer men. The Billeting Soldiers on the inhabitants. And the rates of Soldiers diet. It will never answer to pay 1/ for a meal, when 8d. are only allowed for a days maintenance. The wages or rates of workmen employed on public works should be ascertained, or left

to the commanding Officer to agree in the cheapest way. The premium for Scalps', how to be paid the Indians? and whether our people are entitled to the reward as indifferent people? The way of proving and sending down to the Governor for payment, is both expensive and tedious; and will not suit with the suspicious temper of an Indian, who may think it an evasion of their promises. A Chaplain for the Regiment ought to be provided; that we may at least have the show, if we are said to want the substance of Godliness! As Fort Loudon must be supported; I would represent the prejudice we suffer by the number of Tippling-houses kept in this Town; by which our men are debauched, and rendered unfit for duty, while their pay lasts. Neither do the Court take any notice of them, tho' often complained of. The ruinous state of the frontiers, and the vast extent of land we have lost since this time twelvemonth, must appear incredible to those who are not eyewitnesses of the desolation. Upwards of fifty miles of a rich and (once) thick-settled country is now quite deserted and abandoned, from the Maryland to the Carolina lines: Great numbers below that, removed thro' fear, and apprehensions of danger; and the whole Settlement deliberating whether to go or stay. The cause of such desertion I believe is in great measure owing to Maryland and Pennsylvania giving ground so much faster than we do: whereby we are left exposed in a very fine tract of land as low as, Monocasy, on the Maryland side.

As the affair of Fort Cumberland will come under your cognizance; I have here with sent you a copy of a Council of War held there to enquire, whether it was advisable to continue or demolish it. The reasons for and against it, are very just; and as it respects Virginia in particular, answers no other end than guarding Potomack, securing the only road

fit for wheel-carriages to Ohio, and employing 170 men, who might be of other service elsewhere. Indeed, to view it in the general regard to Pennsylvania, Maryland, and our Colony; it is of the first importance, and might answer great purposes, were it on a good spot of ground made cannon-proof, and well garrisoned; which might easily be done, if the three Colonies wou'd consent to support and strengthen it. Give me leave to refer you for many things I wanted to have observed and resolved in a long letter wrote you last August, when I sent down to settle my accompts. There you will find matters that require the attention of the Assembly &c. Ensign Fleming complains of the short allowance made him by the Committee for his trouble and attendance upon the Sick. And indeed as he acted as Surgeon to the whole party, upon the expedition against the Shawnese, as Major Lewis certifies; it was rather little, and more especially as he has had the care of Capt. Hoggs company for this twelve-month past. He now declines acting as Surgeon longer, without assurance of recompence. And as that Company is out of the reach of our Surgeon, should be glad you would take it into consideration. Also, that affair of Capt. Peachy being robb'd of £50; as mentioned in the aforesaid letter. Last week eleven of the Catawba Indians came to us; and say we might have had more of them, had we sent proper Guides to conduct them. These essential matters we are very negligent about. As we must reward those few in an extraordinary way, to encourage the others to come to our assistance; I am at a loss how to do it, having no Indian Goods, and know not how to be supplied. You have heard no doubt of their having taken two Spies at Fort Cumberland: one of whom informs us, of very unnatural and pernicious correspondence held with the French, by some Priests, &c. of Maryland. We have sent him to Governor Sharpe, to make the

proper use of him. the other being a Deserter of ours, was justly hanged up, in reward for his villanous disloyalty. I am Sir, &c.

ORDERS

Winchester, November 9, 1756.

Parole Georgia.

To-morrow being the Anniversary of His Majesty's Birthday; the men to be drawn up at 12 o'clock, and Marched to the Fort, there to fire three vollies, which is to be taken from the cannon; Officers to appear in their Regimentals; and the Soldiers to dress as clean as possible.

The Colonel recomends it to the Officers to be very circumspect (during his absence to Fort Cumberland) in their several duties; especially those who oversee the works.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Alexandria, November 24, 1756.

Honble. Sir: At this place, on my way to Williamsburg, I received your Honor's letter of the 18th instant,[24] and shall take care to pay the strictest obedience to your orders, and the opinion, so far as I can. The detachment ordered from

[24] Dinwiddie had written (November 16): "The abuses mentioned in yours I have been made acquainted with from several hands; but I expected you would have been more particular in regard to the officers neglecting their duty, and the different forts not being properly garrisoned with men,—nay, without their officers. This vague report makes it impossible for me to call on the delinquents. . . . I am of opinion the string of forts proposed is only weakening our strength, and will be a poor defence to our frontiers. I hope you will keep the Indians properly employed. Major Lewis has orders to send up the Cherokees. You seem to attribute neglect in me, not having proper conductors. The charge is unmannerly, as I did what I thought proper, though disappointed by the villanous traders. . . . If you had sent down the amount of the money due for the servants enlisted, I would have given a warrant for the money. It's probable I might have refused payment to the masters of some of the servants enlisted, for want of certificate, but never said you did not act properly in enlisting them. . . . I received the opinion of the council of war in regard to Fort Cumberland; as it was an affair of great consequence, I called the council for their advice and enclose you my and their opinion thereon. In consequence thereof, I hereby order you immediately to march one hundred men to Fort Cumberland from the forces you

Winchester exceeds, I believe, the number of enlisted we have there; and the drafts, which made our strength at that place to consist of about one hundred and sixty men, will leave us in seven days. I have no hope of enlisting any, nor prolonging their stay, as we have heretofore engaged those, who were willing to serve. However my true endeavors shall be strictly aiding for this (more than ever) necessary purpose.

I am very sorry any expression in my letter should be deemed unmannerly. I never intended insults to any; on the contrary, have endeavoured to demean myself in that proper respect due to superiors. In the instance mentioned, I can truly say, so far from intending a charge or affront of any kind, it was distant from my thoughts; and I meant no more than to shew what strange, what unaccountable infatuation prevailed among the magistrates, &c., of the back parts of Carolina; who were so regardless of the common cause, as to allow fifty Catawbas to return, when they had proceeded near seventy miles on their march, for want of provisions and a conductor to entice them along. This was a fact I did not suppose your Honor was uninformed of, knowing Colonel Cobb[25] had wrote you on the subject. I therefore thought I might be less explicit, and not have incurred this censure by that means.

I seem also to be reprimanded for giving a vague account of my tour to the southward. I was rather fearful of blame for prolixity and impertinence, in meddling with matters I had no immediate concern with; and related them rather as hints, to set you upon inquiring, than as a circumstantial account of

have at Winchester, which, Captain Mercer says, are 160 enlisted men. You are to remain at Fort Cumberland, and make the place as strong as you can, in case of an attack. . . . You are to order one of your subaltern officers, (in whom you can confide,) to command at Winchester, and to oversee the finishing of the fort building at that place. These orders I expect you will give due obedience to, and I am with respect."

[25] Samuel Cobbs, of York, and afterwards of Amelia County. Hamilton notes that Cobbs married Edith Marot, daughter of the Huguenot emigrant, Jean Marot.

the facts. And this I chose more especially to do, as Colonels Lewis and Buchanan, from whom, being heads of the militia, these representations, fully authenticated, more properly came. And they were represented, at least by the latter, then on his road to do so; and had as he told me, taken the testimony and depositions of several persons for this purpose, in order to demonstrate the thing more clearly and to shew who had and who had not done their duty. When I went to Augusta, it was with a good design, to relieve, if possible, a much distressed settlement; but, finding this impracticable without men, and hearing some complaints of Captain Hogg, and at the same time being desirous of seeing in what manner he proceeded, I continued on in no small danger; yet pleased with reflecting on this extraordinary duty, and of bringing myself more intimately acquainted with the situation of our frontiers, which, Sir, I related as well as I was capable, with a design, from which I have never intentionally swerved, to serve my country. And am sorry to find, that this, and my best endeavours of late, meet with unfavorable constructions. What it proceeds from, I know not. If my open and disinterested way of writing and speaking has the *air* of pertness and freedom, I shall redress my error by acting reservedly, and shall take care to obey my orders without offering at more. I should not have presumed to have appointed a commissary, had not your first instructions been plain and explicit on this point, and reiterated letters since that invested me with power. The omission of the name was a neglect indeed accidental, not designed. The gentleman intended was Mr. Ramsay of this place, well-known, well-esteemed, and of unblemished good character, practised in business and comes now properly recommended. I should not have appointed this gentleman or any other to serve as commissary, had not Mr. Walker in repeated letters

desired it, and his absence from and neglect of duty rendered another highly necessary. This, I presume, you were unacquainted with, when you desired his continuance. Nor may you know that Mr. Walker intends to reside at home and act by a deputy, which, if I may be allowed to say, is equally inconsistent, as if I were to do it. This it is that encourages Mr. Ramsay to wait upon your Honor to be thoroughly informed. As the duty now will become more divided between Fort Cumberland and the lower forts, it may not be thought amiss if Mr. Ramsay[26] is appointed to join a second in the commission. The business by this means must be conducted infinitely better, and in that case I would beg leave to mention Mr. Carlyle,[27] who is willing to act, and whose knowledge and experience in this business are so well known, and need no recapitulating. They are both agreed to hold it in conjunction upon the same terms that Mr. Walker now has it.

When I spoke of a chaplain, it was in answer to yours. I had no person in view, tho' many have offered; and only said, if the country would provide a subsistence, we could procure a chaplain, without thinking there was offence in the expression.

Because I was told the commissary had endeavored, but could get no one to accept of it. When I spoke about scalps, I had the Indians chiefly, indeed *solely,* in my view, knowing their jealous, suspicious natures are apt to entertain doubts of the least delay and a suspension of rewards causes a dissatisfaction and murmuring among them, which might be productive of bad events at this critical juncture.[28] So soon as I march

[26] William Ramsay, Alexandria merchant.

[27] John Carlyle.

[28] Atkin disapproved of offering high rewards to Indians for scalps, as it encouraged "private scalping, whereby the most innocent and helpless persons, even women and children," were murdered for their scalps. He instanced also some cases where the Indians picked quarrels among themselves that the scalps of the killed might be sold. Further, the high rewards sharpened the ingenuity of the Indians "for the Cherokees in particular have got the art of making four scalps out of one man killed." Atkin

from Winchester, which will immediately happen, as I am setting out thence, and sent orders by Jenkins to have the troops paid and in readiness to march, I shall write your Honor a more distinct account of the situation of that place, which will be left entirely destitute of all protection, notwithstanding it now contains all the public stores of any importance, as they were removed from Fort Cumberland, and in the most dangerous part of our frontiers, at least in a part that has suffered this summer more than any (which has been so well secured) by the ravages of the enemy. The works, which have been constructed and conducted with infinite pains and labor, will be unfinished and exposed; and the materials for completing the building, which have been collected with unspeakable difficulty and expense, left to be pillaged and destroyed by the inhabitants of the town; because, as I before observed, one hundred men will exceed the number, I am pretty confident, we have there, when the drafts go off. So, to comply with my orders, (which I shall literally do, if I can,) not a man will be left there to secure the works, or defend the King's stores, which are almost wholly removed to that place.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 2, 1756.

Honble. Sir: When I wrote your Honor from Alexandria, I expected to have been at or near Fort Cumberland by this; but, upon coming here, and expecting wagons and provisions in readiness to go up with this escort, I received the enclosed from the commissary, which I send to evince that no delays or protracting of orders proceeds from me. The return of our

asserted that he was "well assured Lord Loudoun detests that practice [of purchasing scalps], and that the French general Montcalm in Canada does the same. Sir Wm. Johnson gives no reward at all in particular for scalps by name."—*Ford.* (See *Pennsylvania Archives,* vol. 3, p. 199.)

strength, which I called in so soon as I arrived, is herewith sent, signed by the adjutant, amounting, exclusive of the drafts, to eighty-one effectives, including the sick, and young drummers, who were sent here to learn.

When Captain Mercer went down, our strength consisted of about twenty-five more, including drafts, which have been sent ever since the middle of October, to Conogochieg, Swearingen's Ferry, &c, to encourage that body of inhabitants to stay at their places, who otherwise were determined to forsake them. Your Honor's late and unexpected order has caused the utmost terror and consternation in the people, and will, I fear, be productive of numberless evils, not only to this place, and the public works erecting here, but to the country in general, who seem to be in the greatest dread for the consequences. The stores of every kind have all been brought from Fort Cumberland, save those indispensably necessary there, at a very great expense, and lie in the court-house and other public buildings, to the no small inconvenience and detriment of the county. I have frequently been importuned by the members of the court, and other public officers, to remove them, and have as often by gentle persuasives protracted the time; which was the more cheerfully granted, as it was evident that there were no other places to receive them, and that I strove with the utmost diligence to prepare the proper receptacles. What course to take with them now, I know not, and hope you will direct.

I am convinced, were your Honor informed how much this place (which is in every degree our outmost and most exposed frontier, there being no inhabitants between this and the Branch, and none there but what are forted in,) I say, I am convinced, if your Honor were truly informed of the situation of this place, of its importance and danger, you would not

think it prudent to leave such a quantity of valuable stores exposed to the insults of a *few;* for a very few indeed might reduce them and the town too, to ashes. In the next place, as I observed in my last letter, the works, which have been begun and continued with labor and hardship, which lie open, untenable, and exposed to the weather, to say no more; and the materials, which have been collected with cost and infinite difficulty, to the mercy of every pillager; our timber and scantling for building used and burnt by the town's people; our plank, which has been brought from far, stolen and destroyed; and the lime, if not stolen, left to be wasted, &c., &c. And this is not the worst. A building, which in time might and would have been very strong and defensible, and an asylum in the greatest danger, in a manner totally abandoned. As the case now stands, we have no place tenable, no place of safety; but all is exposed and open to attacks; and by not having a garrison kept at this place, no convoys can get up to us, and the communication with the inhabitants entirely cut off, so that soldiers and inhabitants cannot be assisting each other.

In regard to myself residing at Fort Cumberland, I shall lay before your Honor such inconveniences as must unavoidably arise, while we pursue these defensive measures; in doing which, I think I only do my duty. First, Fort Cumberland lying more advanced, and wide of all other forts, will prevent me from having the immediate direction of any but that. Secondly, the stores being at this place, and I at that, will render it impossible to deliver them regularly. I either must trust to a subaltern officer to order them discretionally, or else an express must be first sent to me, and then I must send to the storekeeper to deliver the necessaries wanting to each garrison. How inconsistent this is for many reasons, your Honor may judge; but more especially, when it is known that there is no

travelling to Fort Cumberland but endangering of life, without a pretty strong escort. Thirdly, by being at Fort Cumberland a total stagnation of business must ensue, because money is lodged with me for discharging all contingent expenses arising in the service, and no persons will, or can, come to me there. In course they will be slack in furnishing us with wagons and necessaries of every kind, which *now* by due payment may be had at call. And lastly, Winchester is in the center, as it were, of all the forts, is convenient for receiving intelligence and distributing orders; and notwithstanding any thing to the contrary, lies in a vale of land, that has suffered more than any other from the incursions of the enemy. I hope, after receiving a peremptory order, the mentioning of these things will not appear presuming or odd. I do not hesitate a moment to obey; on the contrary, shall comply the minute I can. I mean nothing more than to point out the consequences, that must necessarily attend, as I apprehend your Honor was not thoroughly apprised of our situation. Some, Sir, who are inclined to put an unfavorable construction upon this generous recital, may say, that I am loath to leave this. I declare, upon my honor, I am not, but had rather be at Fort Cumberland, (if I could do the duty there,) a thousand times over: for I am tired of the place, the inhabitants, and the life I lead here; and if, after what I have said, your Honor should think it necessary that I reside at that place, I shall acquiesce with pleasure and cheerfulness, and be freed from much anxiety, plague, and business. To be at Fort Cumberland *sometimes,* I thing highly expedient, and have hitherto done it. Three weeks ago I came from that place. I have used every endeavour to detain the Drafts, but all in vain. They are home-sick and tired of work. They all declare if an expedition is conducted

in the spring, they will serve two, three, or four months; these tho' are words of course. The Catawbas' are out on the scout with an officer and some men of ours. They proposed, when I was at Fort Cumberland, to stay only one moon, and then to set out for their nation, with a report of the country and its convenience to the enemy, (but rather with a report of our usage, I believe.) It therefore behoves us to reward them well, and keep them in temper. They applied to me for several necessaries, such as each a suit of clothes, wampum, pipe, tomhawks, silver trinkets for the wrists and arms, &c. The wampum and tomhawks I have purchased; the want of the others may occasion some murmuring, and there are very few things suitable at Fort Cumberland. They seemed very desirous, that an officer shou'd return with them, and gave strong assurances of his bringing in a number. If your Honor approves it, I shall endeavour to fix upon some officer, that falls most in with their customs, and send him upon this duty. The Indians expect to be sent back upon horses. Does your Honor approve that they should? I will not take upon me to buy horses without your orders. The Cherokees are not yet arrived, nor the arms from Augusta. I am, &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 4, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Since writing to your Honor yesterday, a very base and villainous scheme has been discovered; which has been I believe, the sole cause of 18 Soldiers deserting from us last night. The Gentleman concerned is our (late Ensign) Denis McCarty; of whose Character and practises, the enclosed Depositions will afford your Honor a Specimen, and with

whom all his ties of honor and morality are of no force. By virtue of your Honor's Commission to recruit for the Royal American Regiment, and under the specious pretence of immunity, offered in a late proclamation, he boasts the power & authority of enlisting Deserters and Delinquents of any kind whatever. With these pretences and his ungenerous principles, he scandalously and underhandedly seduced these, and I am afraid many more to abandon their duty and desert the Service. The Behavior of Mr. McCarty while in our Regiment was not so becoming and genteel as it ought: and had he not apprehended the danger of a Court Martial with disgrace, he would not have resigned to your Honor with so much privacy. I hope this flagrant instance of his unnatural, unjust and dishonorable proceedings will prompt your Honor to punish such pernicious practises so destructive in their consequences, and so fatal in their effects. I have despatched a party of 25 men under Capt. Mercer with orders that every endeavour and all possible diligence be made use of to apprehend those Deserters, who I imagine are gone to McCarty and should be glad your Honor wou'd direct what punishment shou'd be inflicted; as the act for that purpose is sometime ago expired. The loss of the Drafts and those desertions, render us unable to manage such heavy timber as is required about the Fort; or even sufficient to do other necessary work there. These misfortunes and the want of flour with the Commissary, conspire to retard my march longer than I had expected.

To CAPTAIN JOHN McNEILL

Fort Loudon, December 7, 1756.

Sir: Yours by Mr. Jones, was delivered to me this Evening. I know of no better expedient to relieve your distress than directing you to send the valuation of the Servants to the Governor

representing the case at the same time as it really stands. I wrote you before in what manner I was instructed to proceed; and can not swerve from my orders, and advance you money, without positive direction.

His Honor, the Governor, in a letter to me, says "You shou'd send the amount of money due for Servants, and my warrant shall issue for payment". Now as you have not transmitted me the certificates on any account of the sum, it is not in my power to do this (unless I first send to you, which is protracting the conclusion of this affair) at a time when yours and the Service of the Recruits, is exceedingly wanted. And was the reason for ordering you in here. I therefore desire you will make off from the Majistrates certificates an exact list of the sums due each respective Owner for his Servant; taking care to specify the name of the Master and man, and to affix the sum. Have this certified by two Majistrates, to make it authentic and indisputable, and send it to His Honor the Governor, by a person in whom you can confide to receive the money: I shall in the meantime advise of this step, and the cause why this accompt. is not signed by me. As I mean nothing but what is fair and honest with the people (in respect of their Servants) I wou'd have you do nothing but what is strictly so. Yet as the Troops now here are to abandon this place and the Stores. It is indispensably necessary, to prevent not only the Inhabitants of the Town, but all between it and Potomack, from forsaking their dwellings, that a party shou'd be thrown in immediately, as Militia can not be raised: I wou'd I say for these reasons, be extremely fond of having your Recruits sent up, if it can be done without incensing the mob or fomenting disturbances. But this, at all events, avoid; as malice and envy are ever on the wing to misrepresent actions, and pervert our intentions, tho' never so laudably meant. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN ABRAHAM BOSOMWORTH[29]

Fort Loudon, December 8, 1756.

Sir: I am informed you have enlisted one Patrick Murphy a Deserter from my Regiment who was confined in the Goal at York, tho' you had previous knowledge of his being so. You must be sensible such proceedings are repugnant to the public interest, and contrary to established articles of war; to say nothing of the ill effects that follow precedents of this nature. The suspicion of a Soldiers disloyalty, I shou'd have thought sufficient to suspend your desire of recruiting him, until confirmed of the truth: And as you then refused to give him up to a Sergeant sent on purpose to receive him: and now assured of his belonging to my Regiment, I hope you will take the first opportunity of returning him to his company at Maidstone (under command of Capt. Robert Stewart). It being impracticable to send so far as Philadelphia for him.

Your compliance will oblige Sir yours &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 10, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Capt. Mercer returned the 7th with sixteen of the Deserters; the other two escaped his diligence. They confirm the suspicion of Mr. McCarty's villany, by confessing he had inveigled them with promises of protection, rewards, and good usage! and a deep-laid plan was concerted for accomplishing his base designs, binding each individual with an oath to follow him; to stand true to each other in case of being pursued; to kill the officer who attempted the command; and

[29] Of the Royal American Regiment, at York.

in case of a separation, private instructions to repair to McCarty, or some of his friends who were to receive and entertain them. These proceedings and the within depositions must convince your Honor, how dangerous a person of Mr. McCarty's principles must be to the peace and quiet of Society.

The Soldiers surrendered to Capt. Mercer upon promise of pardon; and as they seem sorry for their Behaviour, assuring all duty and obedience for the future, I thought it most expedient to forgive them knowing we have no law at present to punish them, and believing the poor ignorant fellows less culpable than their Seducer.

I hope your Honor will therefore approve of my measures in this matter.

Before this reaches your Honor I imagine you will have received Capt. John McNeill's relative to the Servants recruited in Augusta. I desired him to transmit the valuation of them, according to your Honor's directions fully authenticated, in order to receive the money. Capt. McNeill's distance from me deprived me of the opportunity of certifying the accompts; and to prevent loss of time, expence and trouble, I ordered him to take this method, which I hope will not be disagreeable to your Honor.

Upon receiving your Honor's and the Council's resolve to make Fort Cumberland tenable, I wrote to Lt. Colonel Stephen to set immediately about it, but the want of tools for three parts of the men there will prevent its progress.

At Alexandria I gave orders to purchase a quantity; and Colonel Carlyle had gone to Annapolis for that purpose; so I look daily for the tools. The demand upon us at this time for money is very great, buying provisions, &c. We have almost exhausted the last sum received, and must be under the

necessity of applying to your Honor for another supply in a little time. We long much for the arrival of the soldiers Cloathing. The weather very severe, the Service hard, and men naked, are motives too strong for their accepting the specious promises of McCarty and others.

To THE COMMANDING OFFICER ON THE SOUTH BRANCH

Fort Loudon, December 13, 1756.

Sir: I was not a little surprized to find what a quantity of provision had been consumed by your Command, in the short space they have been stationed on the Branch: There certainly must have been great waste and neglect. To prevent which for the future, it is my Orders; That you direct each of the Commanding Officers where the troops are stationed on the Branch to appoint a Sergeant of his command (the most trusty one) to be exempt from all other duty; to receive and issue the provisions which are brought to that Garrison. Let the Officer certify the quantity he receives from each person; and let regular returns be made each drawing day, signed by the Officer commanding each Detachment; and he must issue provisions agreeable thereto, and deliver none without a written Order from the Officer which will be his vouchers for the consumption of what he receives.

As some of the Officers have only small commands, and can not spare a Sergeant for this Duty. You must direct to take one of the best of the men, or make him do the Sergeants duty, which ever is most convenient. Let all the Officers know I expect they will account for the Shoes, &c. received from the Store, which they stand charged with on the Quartermasters Book. I am &c.

To CAPTAIN WILLIAM BRONAUGH

Fort Loudon, December 17, 1756.

Sir: You are strictly required, immediately upon receipt of this, to transport your provisions and Stores to Capt. Waggeners Fort, and there leave them: Then march your Company to Pearsals, in order to escort a quantity of Flour to Fort Cumberland; where you and your whole Company are to remain, to strengthen that Garrison. I expect you will pay due regard to this Order, and put it in execution with the utmost alacrity, as it is in consequence of express directions from the Governor and Council. I heartily commiserate the fate of the poor unhappy Inhabitants, left by this means exposed to every incursion of a merciless Enemy: And wish it was in my power to offer them better support, than good wishes (merely) will afford. You may assure the Settlement, that this unexpected, and if I may be allowed to say, unavoidable step, was taken without my concurrence and knowledge. That it is an express Order from the Governor; and can neither be evaded nor delayed: Therefore, any representations to me of their danger, and the necessity of continuing Troops among them, wll be fruitless: For, as I before observed, I have inclination and no power left to serve them. It is also the Governors Orders that the Forts be left standing, for the Inhabitants to possess if they think proper. I am Sir, &c.

N. B. A Copy of the above Orders was sent to Captains Cocke and Lewis on the Branch. Wrote Capt. Vanmeter to procure waggons, &c. and to assist in the removal of the provision and Stores; and to take due care of them. Wrote Lt. Walter Stewart, to receive those Stores and Provisions, and take care of them.

To CAPTAIN ROBERT STEWART

Fort Loudon, December 17, 1756.

Sir: Ensign Crawford has referred a dispute to me concerning his rank in the Army. I must determine in his favour: and allow their Officers to rank by the dates and dignity of their Commissions. For these reasons; vizt. That Companies, tho' esteemed and called Scouts, are raised and supported upon the same funds as those of the Regiment; have the same pay, entitled to the same privileges and immunities; and are subject to the same laws and punishments: therefore ought, in justice, to have the same rank. The only distinction between them and the Companies of the Regiment lies in this. Were we upon a march, they must, from the nature of their Establishment, encounter more hardship danger and fatigue; which in my opinion, shou'd rather encrease than diminish their claim to Honor!

It is a mistaken notion, in some, that they are Rangers, and shou'd rank as such. The Rangers had a particular sum levied for their support, and laws made to govern them by; distinct from those we have the honor to act under. To put an end to all future disputes, let the Officers be made acquainted with the contents of this letter. I am Sir, Yours &c.

To ROBERT DINWIDDIE

Fort Loudoun, December 19, 1756.

Honble. Sir: Your letter of the 10th came to hand the 15th; in consequence whereof I despatched orders immediately to all the garrisons on the Branch to evacuate their forts, and repair to Pearsall's, where they would meet the flour, &c. from this place, and to escort it to Fort Cumberland. I expect the provisions

purchased for the support of these forts, and now lying in bulk, will be wasted and destroyed, notwithstanding I have given directions to the assistant commissary on the Branch, and to Waggener's company, to use their utmost diligence in collecting the whole, and securing it where his company is posted. An escort, with all the flour we have been able to procure (which amounts to an insufficient quantity for want of water), sets out from this on Tuesday next. I expect to depart sooner myself, after leaving directions with Captain Mercer, whom I have appointed to command here, and shall repair as expeditiously as possible to Fort Cumberland.

I am a little at loss to understand the meaning of your Honor's orders, and the opinion of the Council, when I am directed to evacuate all the stockade forts, and at the same time to march only one hundred men to Fort Cumberland, and to continue the like number here to garrison Fort Loudoun. If the stockade forts are all abandoned, there will be more men than are required for these two purposes, and the communication between them, of near eighty miles, will be left without a settler, unguarded and exposed. But I mean nothing more by asking this question, than to know your Honor's intentions, which I would willingly pay strict obedience to.

Mr. Walker has been here, settled his accompts, and gone home again, fully resolved no longer to continue commissary. I acquainted him with the contents of your Honor's letters of November, and he has wrote you (he tells me) his reasons for resigning. What Indian goods were left by Colo. Innes I know not; no return was ever given to me, nor to the commanding officer, when he went away, if I am rightly informed.

I shall when I arrive at Fort Cumberland get a return of them, and transmit to your Honor.

A return of the stores at this place is enclosed. I should have sent it before, but waited to add those at Fort Cumberland, of which there are none yet come down.

If Captain McNeill goes to the Cherokee nation, it would be well for him to conduct the Catawbas home. But when I recommended an officer's going with them, it was with a view of engaging a body of their men to come to our assistance in the spring, and to march in with their warriors, not choosing to trust altogether to their unmeaning promises and capricious humors. But your Honor will be pleased to direct as you see proper in this affair. I have advanced very little money hitherto to the masters of servants, because I waited your directions on this head. I received forty-one last night from Captain McNeill, who desires leave to continue recruiting. I do not consent to it, until I know whether it is agreeable to your Honor, and whether I may send out as many other officers as can be spared for the same service. If this is approved of I should be glad that your Honor would send me general instructions, that I may know how to give mine, and to act consistently with the rules for recruiting servants for his Majesty's regiments. I should have been excedingly glad, if your Honor and the Council had directed in what manner Fort Cumberland is to be strengthened; *i. e.,* whether it is to be made cannon-proof or not; and that you would fix the sum beyond which we shall not go, for I must look to you for the expense, knowing that the country has already rejected some articles of this. Immediately upon receiving your Honor's letter to McCarty, I enclosed it to Colonel Fairfax (as directed), and desired him to do what is needful in regard to the commission, as it was not in my power to deal with him as he deserved: first, because he has left *this* service; and next, because if he was still in it, we have no martial law to punish him, the mutiny and desertion

act having expired in October last. The same with respect to the soldiers, but their penitent behavior induced me to pass by their faults. I have read over that paragraph in Lord Loudoun's letter, (which your Honor was pleased to send me,) over and over again, but am unable to comprehend the meaning of it. What scheme it is, I was carrying into execution without awaiting advice, I am at a loss to know, unless it was building the chain of forts along our frontiers, which I not only undertook conformably to an act of Assembly, and by your own orders, but, with respect to the places, in pursuance of a council of war. If, under these circumsctances, my "conduct is responsible for the fate of Fort Cumberland," it must be confessed, that I stand upon a tottering foundation indeed. I cannot charge my memory with either proposing, or intending, to draw the forts nearer to Winchester. The garrison of Fort Cumberland, it is true, I did wish to have removed to Cox's, which is nearer to Winchester by twenty-five miles; but not further from the enemy than where it now is, if a road from thence to the Little Meadows, which is about twenty miles distant, and the same from that place (*i. e.* Fort Cumberland,) and more in the warriors' path, was opened. However, I see with much regret, that His Excellency Lord Loudoun seems to have prejudged my proceedings, without being thoroughly informed what were the springs and motives, that have actuated my conduct. How far I have mistaken the means to recommend my services, I know not, but I am certain of this, that no man ever intended better, or studied the interest of his country with more affectionate zeal, than I have done; and nothing gives me greater uneasiness and concern, than that his Lordship should have imbibed prejudices so unfavorable to my character, as to excite his belief that I was capable of doing any thing, "that will have a bad effect as to the Dominion, and no good appearance at home."

As I had your Honor's permission to be down when his Lordship shall favor us with a visit, I desired Colonel Carlyle to inform me when he should pass thro' Alexandria, and I will set out accordingly. I hope nothing has intervened to alter this indulgence. It is a favor I should not have thought of asking, had I believed the service would suffer in my absence; but I am convinced it will not. And I cannot help saying, I believe we are the only troops upon the continent, that are kept summer and winter to the severest duty, with the least respite or indulgence.

Captn. Pearis came to town the other day with six Cherokees and two squaws. He brought no orders from your Honor, and applies to me for direction of his services. I have desired him to carry the Indians to Fort Cumberland, as we can make nothing of them without an interpreter; and there wait the return of your Honor's instructions. Lt. Baker has leave of absence upon very urgent business, relative to an estate left him. He applied to your Honor and, having received no answer, I made free to grant this indulgence in so material a point. Lt. Lowry has applied for permission to quit the service; I referred him to your Honor, and he now waits your answer in a state of much anxiety and sickness. His resignation I apprehend will occasion no void or any loss to the service. I have therefore allowed him to go down, in order to support his spirits and comply with your Honor's pleasure, whatever that be. While Lt. Baker is absent, I would offer it to your Honor as expedient, he should make interest among the Tusks and Nottoways. His intimacy with these nations may be of service in engaging some assistance from them, and I think him very capable of the undertaking. He might also recruit, if your Honor approves of the proposal I have already offered.

The delay of the soldiers' clothes occasions unaccountable murmurs and complaints, and I am very much afraid we shall have few men left, if they arrive not in a week or two. Your Honor would be astonished to see the naked condition of the poor wretches. And how they possibly can subsist, much less work, in such severe weather. Had we but blankets to give them, or any thing to defend them from the cold, they might perhaps be easy.

I have formerly hinted to your Honor our necessity for a speedy supply of cash, and have advised with the Speaker likewise, that he might not be unprepared. I purpose to send down by the 10th of next month or sooner if I could be served. The men are quite impatient, and the want of small bills is very prejudicial to their peace. I should be glad your Honor would advise per return of Jenkins how soon I may send down. I cannot supply your Honor with a return of our strength as yet, because our scattered disposition hinders a regular discharge of the adjutant's duty. I am, &c.

To JOHN ROBINSON

Winchester, December 19, 1756.

Sir: You are no stranger, I presume, to the late resolutions of the Governor and Council, the consequence of which I meditate with great concern. We are ordered to reinforce Fort Cumberland with one hundred men, and, to enable me to carry that number thither, all the stockade forts on the Branch are to be evacuated, and in course all the settlements abandoned, except what lie under the immediate protection of Captain Waggener's fort, the only place exempted in their resolve. Surely his Honor and the Council are not fully acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the unhappy frontiers, thus to

expose so valuable a tract as the Branch, in order to support a fortification, in itself (considering our present feebleness) of very little importance to the inhabitants or the colony. The former order of Council would have endangered not only the loss of Fort Loudoun, the stores, and Winchester, but a general removal of the settlers of this vale, even to the Blue Ridge. This last hath the same object in view, vizt., Fort Cumberland, and, to maintain it, the best lands in Virginia are laid open to the mercy of a cruel and inhuman enemy. These people have long struggled with the dangers of savage incursions, daily soliciting defence, and willing to keep their ground. To encourage them, all my little help has been administered, and they seemed satisfied with my intentions, resolving to continue while any probability of support remained. The disposition I had made of our small regiment gave general satisfaction to the settlements, and content began to appear everywhere. The necessary measures for provision and stores were agreeably concerted, and every regulation established for the season. But the late command reverses, confuses, and incommodes every thing; to say nothing of the extraordinary expense of carriage, disappointments, losses, and alterations, which must fall heavy on the country. Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant; but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; and all my sincerest endeavours for the service of my country perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; *to-day approved, to-morrow condemned.* Left to act and proceed at hazard, accountable for the consequence, and blamed without the benefit of defence! If you can think my situation capable to excite the smallest degree of envy, or afford the least satisfaction, the truth is yet hid from you, and you entertain notions very different from the *reality* of the case.

However, I am determined to bear up under all the embarrassments some time longer, in hope of better regulation on the arrival of Lord Loudoun, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia.

His Lordship, I think, has received impressions tending to prejudice, by false representations of facts, if I may judge from a paragraph of one of his letters to the Governor, and on which is founded the resolve to support Fort Cumberland at all events. The severity of the season, and nakedness of the soldiers, are matters of much compassion, and give rise to infinite complaints. Nor is it possible to obviate them, unless their clothing come in immediately. You would be surprised how the poor creatures live, much more how they can do duty. Had we but blankets, they might be appeased for a little time; and as we have not, I doubtful many will desert.

I advised you formerly of our necessity for cash, and would earnestly desire it soon. I think of sending down by the 10th of next month, or sooner if agreeable. Please to inform me, by Jenkins, what I may depend upon on that head, as our men are impatient, and with some reason, when without both money and clothes. I need not urge the comparative advantage of small bills; as you are truly sensible how disadvantageous large ones are in paying individuals and occasioning many other inconveniences. We shall have occasion for at least six thousand pounds to clear us to the 1st of January. The commissary wants above half that sum to furnish his stocks of provisions, &c; the other will be exhausted in paying the troops. We ought always to have money in hand, as we are often reduced to many inconveniences on account of waiting for it, not to mention the expenses and trouble.[30]

[30] In reply to this letter, Speaker John Robinson wrote (December 31): "I am truly concerned at the uneasiness you are under in your present situation, and the more so, as I am sensible you have too much reason for it. The resolution of defending Fort Cumberland, and evacuating the other forts, was taken before I knew or mistrusted

Mr. Kirkpatrick will have my accompts to lay before the Committee, and will shew how the money has been applied.

INSTRUCTIONS TO CAPTAIN GEORGE MERCER

December 20, 1756.

As I have Orders from his Honor Governor Dinwiddie to repair to Fort Cumberland, and leave an Officer here with the command of this Garrison; I have appointed you to this Command, and expect your particular diligence and care. You must observe all former Rules and Orders which have been given for the regulation of this Garrison; and let no Stores or other thing issue without an Order signed by you. So soon as you hear of the arrival of the Clothing at Alexandria, you must order a sufficient number of waggons down for them; and have them brought to this place, from whence you must send what are necessary to the several Garrisons and Commands; the remainder to be left here. As it will be necessary to supply the Workmen here with the usual allowance of Rum during the winter season, you must endeavour to provide it from

any thing of the matter. I must confess I was not a little surprised at it, and took the liberty to expostulate with many of the Council upon it, who gave me in answer, that Lord Loudoun had insisted that Fort Cumberland should be preserved at all events, and, as we had so few troops, it could not be done without breaking up the small forts, and taking the men from them. It was to no purpose to tell them that our frontiers would thereby be entirely exposed to our cruel and savage enemy, and that they could receive no protection from Fort Cumberland, as it was in another province, and so remote from any of our inhabitants;—and further, that the act of Assembly, which gave the money solely for the defence and protection of our frontiers, would be violated, and the money applied otherwise than the Assembly intended. Yet, notwithstanding all I could say, they persisted in their resolution, without alleging any other reason, than that it was in pursuance of Lord Loudoun's desire. It can't be any difficult matter to guess, who was the author and promoter of this advice and resolution, or by whom Lord Loudoun has been persuaded, that the place is of such importance. But supposing it was really so, surely it ought to be defended by the people in whose province it is [Maryland], or at least at the expense of the three colonies jointly, and not leave our own frontiers exposed for the defence of a place, from which we can't receive the least advantage or protection. The present unhappy state of our country must fill the minds of every well wisher to it with dismal and gloomy apprehensions; and without some speedy alterations in our counsels, which God send, the fate of it must soon be determined."

time to time for them, upon the most reasonable terms. All Expresses on His Majestys Service, you are immediately to forward. Use your utmost endeavours as well to prevent Desertion, as to apprehend all that are guilty of that crime; and indulge the men as much as possible in their Duty during the cold weather. Whatever Tools, &c. are wanted for the works here, you must also procure from below. You are not to give Discharges to any men, nor grant Furloes to them for more than two days at a time. You are to settle with the Masters of Servants, and take certificates for each man on the back of his Indentures, to be laid before the Governor. You are to pay out of the money which will be left in your hands for all trivial contingencies, such as horse-hire, with Expresses, &c. observing the greatest economy therein.

To JOHN ROBINSON

December, 1756.

Dear Sir: It gave me infinite concern to hear by several letters, that the Assembly are incensed against the Virginia Regiment; and think they have cause to accuse the officers of all inordinate vices; but more especially of drunkenness and profanity! How far any *one* individual may have subjected himself to such reflections, I will not pretend to determine, but this I am certain of; and can with the highest safety call my conscience, my God! and (what I suppose will still be a more demonstrable proof, at least in the eye of the World) the Orders and Instructions which I have given, to evince the purity of my own intentions and to shew on the one hand, that my incessant endeavours have been directed to discountenance Gaming, drinking, swearing, and other vices, with which all camps too much abound: while on the other, I have used every expedient to inspire a laudable emulation in the officers, and an

unerring exercise of Duty in the Soldiers. How far I may have mistaken the means to attain so salutary an end behooves not me to determine: But this I presume to say, that a man's *intentions* should be allowed in some respects to plead for his actions. I have been more explicit Sir, on this head than I otherwise shou'd, because I find that my own character must of necessity be involved in the general censure, for which reason I can not help observing, that if the country think they have cause to condemn my conduct, and have a person in view that will act; that *he* may do. But who will endeavour to act more for her Interests than I have done? It will give me the greatest pleasure to resign a command which I solemnly declare I accepted against my will.

I know, Sir, that my inexperience may have led me into innumerable errors. For which reason, I shou'd think myself an unworthy member of the community and greatly deficient in the love I owe my country which has ever been the first principle of my actions, were I to require more than a distant hint of its dissatisfaction to resign a commission which I confess to you I am no ways fond of keeping.

These sentiments I communicate to you, Sir, not only as to a Gentleman for whom I entertain the highest respect, and greatest friendship; but also as a member of the Assembly, that the contents, if you think proper, may be communicated to the whole. For, be assured, I shall never wish to hold a Commission, when it ceases to be by unanimous consent.

The unhappy differences which subsisted so long about command did, I own, prevent me from going to Fort Cumberland, to enforce those orders, which I never failed to send there; and caused, I dare say, many gross irregularies to creep into that Garrison (which you know is in another Colony).

But whose fault was that? Ought it not to have been attributed to the officer commanding there (Capt. Dagworthy); whose business it was to suppress vice in every shape? Surely it was.

However, I am far from attempting to vindicate the characters of all the officers: For that I am sensible would be a task too arduous. There are some who have the seeds of Idleness too strongly instilled into their constitution, either to be serviceable to themselves, or beneficial to the Country. Yet even those have not missed my best advice: nor have my unwearied endeavours ever been wanting to serve my country with the highest integrity. For which reasons I shou'd ever be content in retirement, and reflect with no little pleasure, that no sordid views have influenced my conduct, nor have the hopes of unlawful gains swerved me in any measure from the strictest dictates of Honor! I have diligently sought the public welfare; and have endeavoured to inculcate the same principles on all that are under me. These reflections will be a cordial to my mind so long as I am able to distinguish between Good & Evil.

To THE SPEAKER AND GENTLEMEN OF THE HOUSE OF BURGESSES

THE ADDRESS OF THE OFFICERS OF THE VIRGINIA REGIMENT[21]

The act being expired which rendered your Forces subject to military discipline has made us with some impatience wait for the time of this present Session of Assembly: For, as from experience, we are become very sensible, that our vigilant and active Enemy have usually made their horrid incursions early in the Spring. But, a little time will remain to put our Regiment

[21]A copy of this address is entered in the Washington "Letter Books." It was inclosed in the preceding letter to Speaker Robinson.

into such a fitness as may be capable of defending our Frontiers, and acting offensively, when supported by a renewal of the Act and proper Orders to execute in our future marches: and we being now reminded that in a late Virginia Gazette, a narrative was published, under the title of "The Centinels, No. X." wherein the Officers of our Regiment were particularly charged with many immoral practises, which Gazette is dispersed throughout His Majesty's Dominions; and as the said unjust aspersions therein contained may obtain too easy credit, not being in a like public manner gainsaid or answered. We humbly entreat that you will kindly take into consideration, and agreeably to the hopes assured us by Colo. Washington, give us public testimony, that in your esteem we have not deserved the obloquoy complained of.

We can not omit mentioning that notwithstanding our early entrance into the Service of our Country; the many attacks and skirmishes had with several of the French parties and their Indians, wherein great slaughter on both sides hath been effected: and when the approaching Winter has necessitated Regular Troops to retreat into Winter quarters, the Officers and Soldiers of our Regiment, have been constantly and fully employed in building a new Fort at Winchester; and by adding new works to Fort Cumberland thereby endeavouring to make it defensible: Likewise erecting other Fortresses, and transporting Stores and provisions which have proved very laborious and fatiguing: also the workmen's wages too low and discouraging. Under this head, we further take the humble liberty to remonstrate the little or *no* notice taken of our Address at *Home,* setting forth the frequent trials of our Loyalty, courage and activity to do His Majesty's good and faithful service; not without presuming we might be thought of, and

put on the Honorable Establishment, among the many Battalions raised and lately sent over to assist and strengthen our operations against the common Enemy. As we have on many occasions been convinced of your friendly thoughts and dispositions toward us, which we shall desire no longer than our merit may claim; So we with grateful hearts present ourselves, and refer all our interest and concerns to your Wisdom and Judgment; subscribing ourselves as we truly are your most faithful and obedient Servants—

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